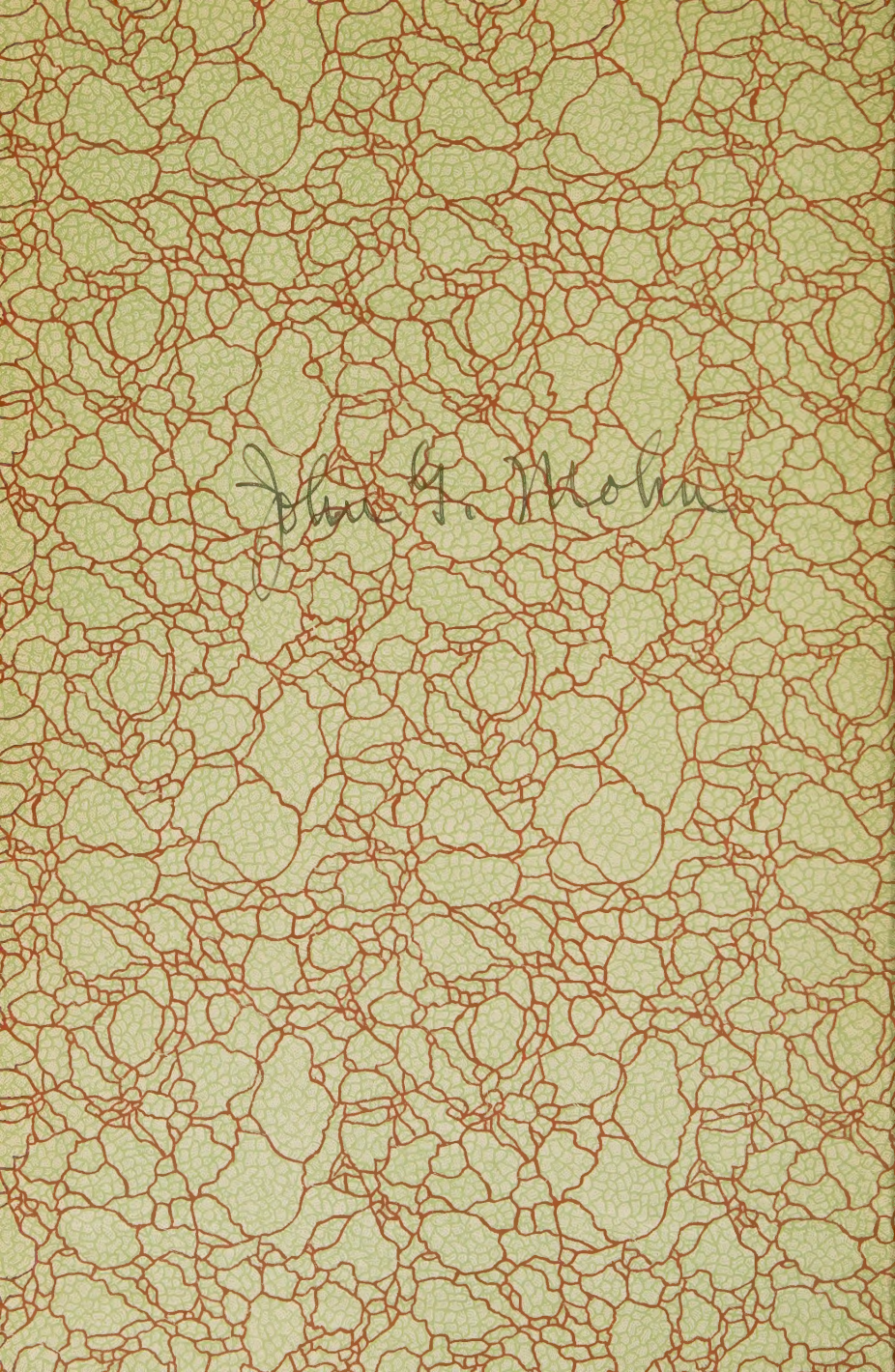
# INTRODUCTION
TO
# LUTHERAN SYMBOLICS

NEVE



St. Olaf College Library

Gift from:

Valborg Mohn

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_T5-ASD-820

John G. Mohn
Northfield,
Minn.

June 16 1919

# INTRODUCTION

TO

# LUTHERAN SYMBOLICS

A Historical Survey of the Oecumenical and Particular Creeds of the Lutheran Church, an Outline of their Contents, and an Interpretation of their Theology on the Basis of the Doctrinal Articles of the Augsburg Confession

BY

J. L. NEVE, D. D.

Professor of Symbolics and History of Doctrines in Hamma Divinity School, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

GEORGE J. FRITSCHEL, D. D.

Professor of Church History and Symbolics, in Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa

COLUMBUS, OHIO:
THE F. J. HEER PRINTING CO.
1917.

John T. Neve
14

BX
8070
N51
copy 2

Copyright, 1917
By J. L. NEVE

781741 9

## FOREWORD.

HEREWITH we offer to the Lutheran Church of America a work on Lutheran Symbolics. It is a treatment of the symbolical writings on which the system of Lutheran theology rests.

This volume, as its title indicates, is an Introduction to Lutheran Symbolics and therefore belongs to the same order as the following works: *Isagoge in libr. eccl. Luth. Symb.,* by J. B. Carpzov, who wrote the first work of the kind (1666); *Introductio in libr. eccl. Luth. Symb.* of the next century (1732), and *Symbolik der Luth. Kirche,* by E. Koellner, still a century later (1837). Omitting the mention of the many monographs issued mostly on the Augsburg Confession (cf. p. 74), we may say that the works of J. W. Richard (*Confessional History of the Lutheran Church,* 1909) and of T. E. Schmauk and C. T. Benze (*The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Luth. Church,* 1911) belong to this class of historical Symbolics. Our justification for publishing this work lies in the fact that it has been given the form of a text-book for use in the theological seminaries of the Lutheran Church of our country. There can be no question that such a work is needed. We admit that the need for a *Comparative Symbolics* is still greater. But it was our intention from the beginning that this volume should be followed by a second one under the title mentioned. Some work has been done on that already.

To adapt the volume before us to the demands on a text-book it was necessary to include the Oecumenical Creeds, as Koellner did in the first volume of his *Symbolik*. In employing the historical materials we have limited ourself to the matter that seemed to us to be indispensable to a correct interpretation of each one of the Symbols. Care has been taken to bring the historical investigations up to date. We have aimed everywhere at a distinct system of dividing and subdividing including a variation of printer's type, which method, we believe, will be appreciated by professors and students alike.

Two features not in Koellner have been added in this work: (1) On the basis of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, with constant references to the rest of the symbolical writings of Lutheranism, we have tried to give an interpretation of the Theology of the Book of Concord.* (2) We have also added synopses of the contents of the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, the Large Catechism and the Formula of Concord. This part has been contributed by Dr. George J. Frichel who, as professor of Symbolics, has stressed before his classes the necessity of mastering the contents of the several Confessions as condition of doing justice to this important branch of theology. Because of his experience along this line we asked him to furnish these parts. As regards this second addition, we were guided by the consideration that, as many persons learn *of* the Bible without ever really mastering the Bible itself, so there are many students of Symbolics who

* We have thought that this section of the work might be welcomed by those ministers who are using our little book for laymen (*"The Augsburg Confession"*) for purposes of instruction in their churches. It is an expansion, or a kind of a commentary to that book.

learn to know of the Confessions, but never really familiarize themselves with their contents. In these synopses Dr. Fritschel has taken care to avoid the language of the gray past, which has discouraged many persons from making a study of the contents of our symbolical writings.

Dr. Fritschel, who is a special student of the Formula of Concord, was also invited to write the historical introduction to that Symbol. He has here given, in condensed form, the essential parts of his recently published monograph "The Formula of Concord, Its Origin and Contents."

This work is meant to be a commentary on the Book of Concord. The texts used are those of the People's Edition by Dr. Henry E. Jacobs. In our book we have given, side by side, the English and Latin texts of only the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession. Not all the seminaries which decide to introduce this book as a text may find the time to teach everything that it contains; yet we confidently hope that theological teachers can use it in such a way that the portions which students cannot finish in their theological course may be studied after they have entered the ministry. Some seminaries do not teach History of Doctrines as a special branch of the theological course. These might use the historical parts of this book with profit, although we would not claim that they are a complete substitute for a connected History of Dogma.

The volume before us has grown out of class-room work in the theological seminary. We began to write parts of it some twelve years ago in German. But gradually we became convinced that the book should

be published in English. Dr. Adolf Harnack, in prefacing the English edition of his "History of Dogma," wrote (1894): "No theological book can obtain a place in the literature of the world unless it can be read in both German and English. These two languages combined have taken the place of Latin in the sphere of Christian science." This is correct. But, while we have no ambitions for this book beyond seeing it serve the Lutheran Church of America, we may say, with reference to the polyglot conditions of our Church in this country, that the English language, better than any other, serves as "the Latin," or as the ground on which the intellectuals of all synods and languages can meet and understand one another. This does not mean that we no longer need the German. As Lutheran theologians we can do without the French, the Italian, the Spanish, but not without the German. In the magnificent literature of this language a large part of the research work must be conducted. Then, after the digging has been done, we Lutherans in America can do nothing more practical and useful than to publish the results of our labors in English, providing they cannot be presented in both languages.

We call attention to an important announcement at the close of this book (following the Topical Index). The work which we here present has been planned as the first volume of a series of text-books. No one familiar with the situation in our English Lutheran seminaries will deny that we are in great need of texts that have been prepared with due regard to the history and interests of Lutheran theology. We are glad that we can at this time announce a few works, soon to be published, that are intended to meet that need, and we

hope, as the publication of the series goes on, that we shall be able to call attention to many productions of this kind. The theologians of our church are herewith invited to join us in the question of text-books for our English Lutheran seminaries. J. L. NEVE.

Springfield, Ohio.

At the Threshold of the Quadri-Centennial of the Reformation.

November, 1916.

# CONTENTS.


## INTRODUCTION.

(Pages 14-31.)

The **Word "Symbol,"** its meaning. The **authority of Symbols** in the history of the church: The Rule of Faith. The Nicene Creed binding under penalties. Change since 1648. Freedom of conscience. Luther's position. The **particular Symbols of Lutheranism as to authority** accorded them: Literature. First traces of a formal subscription. The *Corpora Doctrinae*. The Book of Concord. Confessional subscription among Lutherans in America. Degree of binding force of Symbols among Lutherans. Formula of Concord on confessional obligation. The *quatenus* and *quia* subscription. Seeberg, Walther, Kaftan, Stier.

## I. THE APOSTLES' CREED.

(Pages 31-51.)

*Literature.* **Origin of Apostles' Creed:** The old legend. Grundtvig's view. Present form of Apostles' Creed. The Creed as a **gradual development:** First traces in New Testament, post-Apostolic age; Ignatius, Irenaeus, Tertullian. The **"Old Roman Symbol":** Relation of the Old Roman Symbol to the Eastern Creeds. From the "Old Roman Symbol" to the *Textus Receptus*. **Contents** of the Apostles' Creed. Notably the phrases: "The Holy Catholic Church", "Resurrection of the flesh". **Canon** for interpretation: Walther versus Harnack and McGiffert. **Value** of the Apostles' Creed: Unsurpassable for catechetical and liturgical purposes. Warning against over-estimation: Syncretism. Grundtvig.

II. THE NICENE CREED.

(Pages 52-62.)

*Literature.* **Historical occasion** for the formulation of the Old Nicene Creed. **Sources** for its construction. Shaped by Eastern mind. Creed of Cæsarea served as basis: Omissions. Additions. The damnatory clauses. **Character** of old Nicene Creed. Present form of Nicene Creed, the **"Constantinopolitan"** Symbol. How does this Symbol differ in text from the Old Nicene Creed? Traditional view as to the origin of the Constantinopolitan Symbol. Its relation to the Creed of the Church at Jerusalem. Adoption at Chalcedon. **The filioque:** Augustine. John Damascus. Synod of Toledo (589). **Authority** of Nicene Creed: Greek Church. Roman Church. Lutherans. Reformed Churches.

III. THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

(Pages 62-73.)

*Literature.* **Names** of this Creed. Possible **authors.** Contents in **outline.** Description of contents in **Part One** (Trinity); of **Part Two** (Christology). **Characterizing** the Athanasian Creed. The damnatory clauses. **Attitude of the Churches** to this Creed: Greeks, Romanists, Lutherans, Reformed, Episcopalians.

IV. THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

(Pages 74-292.)

A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

*Literature.* **Author** of the Augsb. Conf. Its **contents** with particular reference to a classification of the articles. **First plan:** Articles on abuses. Torgau Articles as source. **Articles on doctrine** found to be necessary. Sources; Schwabach and Marburg Articles.

Schwabach Articles composed before those of Marburg. **Gradual growth** of the Confession. Melanchthon's "Introduction" (*Exordium*). "The First Draft." Was Luther kept informed? What did Luther see of the finished Confession before the public reading? The confessional document which Melanchthon had been preparing exclusively in the name of the elector of Saxony becomes by agreement of the several estates the Common Confession of all the Lutherans at Augsburg. **Delivery** of the Confession. **History of the texts:** The German text in the Book of Concord. The Latin text. **First authorized edition** (*Editio Princeps*). Agreement or disagreement with the originals. The **"altered" Augsb. Conf.** of 1540. (*Variata*): The principal changes. Dr. Schaff on the Variata. The Variata as a recognized text in the Lutheran Church. Romanists the first to protest against the Variata. First discussion of the differences between *Variata* and *Invariata* among the Lutherans. Crypto-Calvinists favored the Variata. The Day of Princes at Naumburg. **Book of Concord** incorporated the *Editio Princeps*. Why does Lutheranism today insist upon subscription to the Unaltered Augsb. Confession?

### B. CONTENTS

Introduction by Dr. Brueck. The articles of the Confession classified.

#### Article One. Of God.

(Pages 103-109.)

The One God, existing in three persons. The term "person" defined. All three persons in the Trinity have the divine essence in a like manner and in an equal degree. Though existing in persons, the Triune God is without human limitations. Errorists rejected: Manichaeans and Valentinians as denying

the One Essence; Mohammedans and Samosatenes as denying the Three Persons; Arians and Ennonians as teaching subordination.

**Article Two. Of Original Sin.**

(Pages 109-126.)

Man's sinful condition traced to "fall of Adam," but not to his creation. Christ excepted, but Mary included. Original Sin defined negatively and positively. Characterized as truly sin. Melanchthon and Luther versus Semi-Pelagianism of Scholastics. Consequences of Original Sin. Remedy: Regeneration (Baptism). Errorists: Pelagians, Semi-Pelagians, Zwingli.

**Article Three. Of the Son of God.**

(Pages 126-138.)

Christ as the "Word" reminds of His pre-existence. The initiative in the act of incarnation is taken by the divinity (against Ebionitism and Socinianism). Virgin Birth. The Logos assumed human nature, not a human person. Result: personal union of two natures (against Dyophysitism and Monophysitism). Luther and Zwingli. *Communicatio Idiomatum.* States of Christ: emphasis upon the "He also" (*idem*) and the "truly." Vicarious atonement taught.

**Article Four. Of Justification.**

(Pages 138-157.)

Central Article. Leading question for Luther. Supplementary articles. Confounding Justification and Sanctification. History of Roman error: The natural man. The Pauline doctrine lost already in post-Apostolic age. Failure of Augustine. The Scholastics. Religious interest of Lutherans in rejecting Roman doctrine: exclusion of merits, assurance of salvation, rejection of monastic asceticism. Trace the source of justification. Meaning of "grace." Merit of Christ as the ground of justification. Active and passive obedience. Christ our justification according to both of His natures. True meaning of justification: positive, negative. Relation between justification and forgiveness. Imputation. Faith, the subjective cause. Meaning of faith. Faith "alone."

**Article Five. How Justifying Faith is Obtained.**

(Pages 157-164.)

Fitting superscription. Connection with preceding article. Reason for mentioning office of the ministry. Lutheran versus Roman conception of ministry. To what is the minister's work limited? Why is the ministry called an "office of the teaching the Gospel?" Word and Sacraments as the only means of grace. "In them that *hear* the Gospel." "Where and when it pleases God." The errorists: Anabaptists. Zwingli. Quakers.

**Article Six. Of the New Obedience.**

(Pages 164-170.)

Superscriptions. Supplementary articles. Connection with Article IV. Works of sanctification as an inner necessity. George Major. Nic. Amsdorf. Formula of Concord. Motive for good works. The kind of works produced by faith.

**Article Seven. Of the Church.**

(Pages 170-184.)

Lutheran conception opposed to the Roman and the Anabaptist. Apology. Marks of the Church. The meaning of "Gospel" in phrase: "Where the Gospel is rightly taught." The twice-employed "rightly." Can we say of the Lutheran Church as represented by its Confessions that it is pure in the teaching of the Word and Sacraments? How with the individual Lutheran churches? How should we regard the other denominations? The "One Holy Church" to continue forever. The true unity of the Church is to be sought not in uniformity of ceremonies, but in agreement concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Organic union. Altar and pulpit fellowship.

**Article Eight. The Ministry of Evil Men in the Church.**

(Pages 185-191.)

Distinction between the Church strictly speaking and the Church in the wider sense. The terms "invisible" and "visible"

Church. Reformed conception of the Church. Luther's position. Two schools among Lutheran theologians. Efficacy of the means of grace even when administered by evil men. Our article. Apology. Large Catechism. Opponents to the Lutheran principles: Donatists, Wickliffe, Schwenkfeld, Rome, Pietism.

**Article Nine. Of Baptism.**

(Pages 191-199.)

The brevity of this article. An observation of historical interest. Baptism "necessary for salvation." The Baptism "in case of extreme necessity" (*Nottaufe*). The objective element in Baptism: A gracious act of God. Justification. Regeneration. Apology. Large Catechism. The subjective element: Grace offered to be received through faith. Children to be baptized. Reasons for infant Baptism. Luther on infant faith. What means the silence of our article on the mode of Baptism? Opponents to this article: Anabaptists, Mennonites, Baptists. Zwingli.

**Article Ten. Of the Lord's Supper.**

(Pages 199-212.)

What is the Sacramental gift? Calvinism: Certain spiritual influences; or: Christ as person. Our article: Body and Blood of Christ. The principle of realism in interpreting the words of institution. Wittenberg Concord. Smalcald Articles. Formula of Concord. Transubstantiation excluded. Relation of the two elements to each other: No impanation, no consubstantiation (in the sense of the creation of a third substance), but a Sacramental union (in, with and under). Duns Scotus. William Occam. Luther. Oral eating and drinking, according to Formula of Concord, but in supernatural manner. Faith necessary (Art. XIII). The Variata. Omission of two important phrases. Melanchthon laboring to win over the Zwinglians. Supplementary thoughts from Art. XXII on the withdrawing of the cup and the *Corpus Christi* procession; from Art. XXIV on the practice among Lutherans in celebrating the Lord's Supper.

**Article Eleven. Of Confession.**

(Pages 212-217.)

Relation between Articles XI and XII. Reasons for rejecting auricular confession: Enumeration of all sins is not necessary; it is impossible; it would be casting snares upon consciences; it is an ignoring of the organic relation of all sin. Private absolution to be retained. What it is. Not compulsory. Scriptures. Luther. Our article. Schwabach Articles. Marburg Articles. Why is private absolution to be retained? It may be a means of needed instruction; it is a source of comfort for the souls in contrition. But the institution of private absolution calls for ministers of the right kind.

**Article Twelve. Of Repentance.**

(Pages 217-226.)

The system of this article. (1) Can those once justified lose the Holy Ghost? Anabaptists, Schwenkfeldians, Calvinists. Luther. Formula of Concord. (2) Sinlessness in this life: Anabaptists, Romanists, modern holiness people. Oxford movement. Testimony of Scripture. Luther in Catechisms. Formula of Concord. (3) The fallen when returning to repentance should be absolved. Practice of the Novatians. The Scriptures. (4) Repentance in the conception of the Romanists. The Lutheran position. Two ways of speaking of repentance. Contrition produced through preaching of Law. Faith brought about by preaching of Gospel.

**Article Thirteen. Of the Use of the Sacraments.**

(Pages 227-232.)

Common ground with Zwingli. But chief significance of Sacraments shows difference from Swiss Reformer. Apology. Formula of Concord. Faith necessary for receiving benefits of Sacraments. What kind of faith? However, faith does not make the Sacrament. *Opus operatum.* Number of Sacraments.

**Article Fourteen. Of Ecclesiastical Order.**

(Pages 232-240.)

Against Anabaptists and Quakers. The regular call (*rite vocatus*). Silence on the inner call. Emphasis upon external call. Transference theory. Co-operation of laity and clergy. The work of laymen in the Church. Leading thought in this article is "ecclesiastical order." Laymen or theological student preaching. Baptism administered by laymen. Lord's Supper. Waldenstroem. No necessity for ordination by bishop, or Apostle. Apostolic succession. Power and authority of the minister in his congregation (Art. XXVIII). Apology: "Power of order" and "power of jurisdiction." What is the authority of a government outside of the local congregation (synods)? New Testament on bishops and presbyters. Smalcald Articles on different grades of ministers of the Word. Government of synods necessary, but entirely subordinate to that of the local congregation. Rules laid down in the Confessions.

**Article Fifteen. Of Rites and Usages.**

(Pages 240-248.)

The theme of this article in Art. VII. Special aim to offer principles regarding usages not divinely commanded. Difference between Lutherans and Puritans. Art. XXVI. Ceremonies should not be multiplied. But some usages of human right only should be observed because they "are profitable," also "for the sake of charity," and for the purpose of profession. Adiaphora. Works for meritorious ends to be avoided. Discussion of the Sunday: Augsb. Conf. (Art. XXVIII). Large Catechism.

**Article Sixteen. Of Civil Affairs.**

(Pages 248-253.)

Leading thoughts. Principle of conservatism with reference to matters civil. On civil government. Anabaptists. Lutherans. Duty of obedience. Lutheran Church opposed to revolution. Public redress justified: going to law, declaration under oath, capital punishment, wars, military service. Men-

nonites. Quakers. The right of Christians to hold civil office. The covenanters. The Christian in the office of a judge. Difference between divine and civil laws. The right to hold property. Roman asceticism. Usury. Loaning money on interest. Marriage a state pleasing to God. Rome. Lutheran Church.

**Article Seventeen. Christ's Return to Judgment.**

(Pages 253-261.)

Closing the body of doctrines. Why not more in detail on eschatology? Christ to raise up all the dead. A significant change from the first and second draft of the Confession. Rejection of apokatastasism. Anabaptists. Origen. Rejection of chiliasm. What is chiliasm? Three classes. What chiliasm is rejected?

**Article Eighteen. Of Free Will.**

(Pages 261-267.)

To which of four viewpoints is this article limited? To condition of will after fall and before regeneration. Freedom in outward things (a, morally indifferent; b, civil righteousness); also in direction of evil. But no freedom in spiritual respects. Latin and German texts. The term *Hilfe* in German text. Formula of Concord. Language of Variata. Opponents. Pelagius and Greek anthropology as opposed to Augustinianism. Semi-Pelagianism of Roman Church. Synergism.

**Article Nineteen. Of the Cause of Sin.**

(Pages 267-286.)

Supplementary to Art. II on Original Sin. Determinism of the Lutheran Reformers during the first period of their theological development. The doctrine upon which they settled. Misrepresentations. Creation and preservation of nature does not make God responsible for sin. Distinction between nature and sin. Mistake of Flacius. It is not sin, but human nature which God preserves, because it can be cleansed. The old Lutheran dogmaticians on the seeming concurrences of God

with sinful acts of men. Real cause of sin to be found in will of devil and ungodly men. How did fall take place? *Non adjuvante Deo. So Gott die Hand abgetan.* How is first evil desire in first parents to be explained? Two extremes to be avoided: First man neither a divine being, nor a moral neuter. The speculative question as to fall among angels avoided. Erroneous positions: Rome's monastic efforts. Supralapsarian form of predestination. Schiller, Hegel and modern liberalism.

**Article Twenty. Of Faith and Good Works.**

(Pages 286-288.)

Supplementary to Articles IV. on Justification and VI on New Obedience. Doctrine of Justification by faith does not kill the striving after sanctification. But Roman doctrine concerning works is false for four reasons. Reasons why the Lutheran doctrine is divinely true and necessary.

**Article Twenty-one. Of the Worship of Saints.**

(Pages 289-292.)

Why was this article not placed in Part Two of Confession? The lesson. Luther especially interested in this article. True veneration of saints strengthens faith and serves as example for imitation. False veneration rejected because not commanded in Scripture and having no divine promise. The Apology mentions also Mary.

**V. MELANCHTHON'S APOLOGY.**

(Pages 292-339.)

A. Historical Introduction (pp. 292-299).

*Literature.* **The Confession in need of defense.** A **Confession of the Romanists:** The Confutation. Publicly read. Published. Character of the Confutation. A copy was denied the Lutherans. **The first draft** of the Apology. Melanchthon began to write. Why did he wait until Sept. 20th? The first outline of

the Apology was handed the emperor. **The Apology re-written.** The text as we have it in the Book of Concord. The new work was published. **Character of the Apology.** Its aim. The form. Estimation by Dr. Schaff. **Recognition of the Apology as a confessional writing.** Impressions at its first appearance. Recognized as a public Confession. **Alterations of the text.**

Synopsis of Contents (by Geo. J. Fritschel), pp. 299-339.

### VI. THE SMALCALD ARTICLES WITH THE "APPENDIX" FROM MELANCHTHON.

(Pages 339-354.)

The **occasion** for new articles of faith. **Luther** was commissioned. The articles were **signed.** Luther's articles not officially adopted at Smalcald. What was **adopted at Smalcald?** Melanchthon's **Tractatus** as an Appendix to the Smalcald Articles. Review of **contents** as composed of two parts. What was **done at Smalcald** with Luther's articles? Luther **publishes** his articles. Luther's articles classified among the **symbolical** writings of the Lutheran Church. The **text** of Luther's articles as we have it in the Book of Concord. The **history of Melanchthon's Tractatus.**

Synopsis of Contents (by Geo. J. Fritschel), pp. 350-354.

### VII. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE CATECHISMS OF LUTHER.

(Pages 355-364.)

*Literature.* **Luther's unconscious steps** in the direction of his Catechisms. Sermons on Decalogue and Lord's Prayer. "Brief advice of how to make con-

fession." All re-published in "Brief Form", etc. Luther's **matured intention** to write a Catechism. He published "Brief Questions on Lord's Supper". The *Kinderfragen* of the Bohemian Brethren. The "Small Book for the Lay and Children" by Bugenhagen(?). **Luther moved to undertake work.** He begins to write Large Catechism, but Small Catechism in table form published first. Large Catechism finished and published. **Editions of Small Catechism.** Edition of 1542 of especial importance. **The part on confession.** The form frequently changed by Luther and after him. Luther's estimate on confession. Composed of a doctrinal and a ritual element. Kaftan's suggestion. **Character and value** of Luther's Catechism. Dr. Schaff and Dr. Reu. As a Confession or Creed, however, it should not be over-estimated. Kawerau. Kahnis. An American voice.

VIII. THE LARGE CATECHISM (CONTENTS).

With notes on the Small Catechism.

By Geo. J. Fritschel.

(Pages 365-384.)

IX. THE FORMULA OF CONCORD.

By Geo. J. Fritschel.

(Pages 384-428.)

**Synopsis of the history of the times.** Prospects of Lutheranism in 1546. The Smalcald War. The emperor's plans. Defeat of the emperor and the Augsburg Religious Peace Treaty. Further development. **Synopsis of the inner history from 1546-1576.** Melanchthon's incapacity as a leader. The opponents of Melanchthon's concessions. The parties and factions. **The doctrinal**

**controversies:** 1. The interimistic or adiaphoristic controversy. 2. The Osiandristic controversy. 3. The Majoristic controversy. 4. The antinomistic controversy. 5. The synergistic controversy. 6. The Flacian controversy. 7. The crypto-Calvinistic controversy. **Vain efforts at unification:** Vain efforts of the *princes* (Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg, "Frankfurt Recess", the princes at Naumburg). Futile efforts of *theologians*. Vain attempts of *Andreae*. **The work of unification.** *Andreae endeavors to unite all Lutherans* (His "Six Sermons", the "Swabian Concord"). *Gradual development of the Formula of Concord* (Chemnitz, Chytraeus, the "Swabian-Saxon Concord", the "Maulbrunn Formula", the "Torgau Book", the "Bergen Book"). *Adoption and publication* (the Formula of Concord submitted for signature, the semi-centennial of the delivery of the Augsb. Conf.). Synopsis of the **contents of the twelve articles,** prefaced by a brief **historical introduction.** The articles are as follows: 1. Of Original Sin. 2. Of the Free Will, or Human Powers. 3. Of the Righteousness of faith before God. 4. Of Good Works. 5. Of the Law and the Gospel. 6. Of the Third Use of the Divine Law. 7. Of the Lord's Supper. 8. Of the Person of Christ. 9. Of the Descent of Christ to Hell. 10. Of Ecclesiastical Ceremonies. 11. Of God's Eternal Predestination and Election. Appendix: Of Other Heresies and Sects.

## INTRODUCTION

**1. A Symbol,** in the sense in which we shall use the word in this book, is a confession of faith for public use, a Creed. "The first object of Creeds was to distinguish the Church from the world, from Jews and heathen, afterwards orthodoxy from heresy, and finally denomination from denomination."[1]

**The word "symbol" was used** in the ancient Church to designate the mysteries of the Christian faith, that should be known and confessed and used like a badge or a watchword, as a test of fitness for the admission into the association or congregation of Christians. As soldiers fight under a certain banner, so do Christians march under the banner of the "Rule of Faith" (*regula fidei*). By their Baptismal confession the Christians were known and distinguished from Jews, heathen and heretics. Their Creed had to them the meaning of a military signal or watchword.

So it was in the ancient Church, and so it continued to be during the centuries following. The "Baptismal Formula" more and more developed into the present form of the Apostles' Creed and became a Symbol of the Church. The Nicene Creed was added, and later we find that in the West also the Athanasian Creed received the significance of a Symbol.[2]

The Reformation age produced "Particular Confessions" (so called in differentiation from the "Oecu-

[1] Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* I, p. 8. New York, 1899.
[2] Alex. of Hales, *Summa* p. 111, *quaestio* 82, m. 5, *introd.* Cf. F. Kattenbusch in *Realencyclopaedie* (3rd ed.) XIX, 200.

menical Creeds"). In this volume it is our intention to treat of the Symbols of Lutheranism (including the Oecumenical Creeds). It is of interest to note that the Formula of Concord names as the "Symbol of our time" the unaltered Augsburg Confession together with the Apology, the Smalcald Articles and the Catechisms of Luther.[3] The Formula of Concord does not include itself, but large parts of the Lutheran Church have adopted it, and most of those that have not formally adopted it nevertheless treat it as a Symbol of Lutheranism.

**Note:** In two respects, there are characteristic differences between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches:[4] (1) While the Lutherans have "Symbols" that are recognized by the Lutherans in all lands, the Reformed have different "Confessions" in the different countries. This can easily be explained. The Reformed churches have each had their own history in countries that were locally far apart and not in touch with each other; Lutheranism developed in Germany, and the Scandinavian countries simply accepted the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism. But a further reason must also be found in the subjective tendencies of the Reformed churches. They call their Creeds "Confessions" (in each country they confess for themselves); the Lutherans prefer to speak of "Symbols". There is, finally, in the Reformed churches the tendency of laying more emphasis upon the forms of life (modes of service and organization), and their doctrinal principles are more pliable than are those of the Lutherans. This leads (2) to the other characteristic difference between the two churches. The Lutherans have not produced more Symbols after the publication of the Book of Concord in 1580, while the Re-

[3] H. E. Jacobs, *Book of Concord* (People's edition), Part I, p. 492; Part II, p. 536.

[4] When we speak of the "Reformed churches" we mean by this designation the sisters and daughters of the Church of Zwingli and Calvin, the Reformed in Switzerland, Germany, France, in Holland; the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists in England and America; the Methodists, Baptists and other dissenters the world over.

formed churches, particularly in America, have been fruitful in altering their Confessions and in producing new Creeds.[5]

## 2. The Authority of Symbols in the History of the Church.

**a. The Rule of Faith** (*κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, regula fidei*) of the ancient Church, as it grew out of the Apostolic Tradition and was needed as a protection against the heretics as well as for a guide in teaching, at first did not have the character of a general Confession. Each part of the Church had a different form of what we now call the *Apostles' Creed*. But nevertheless this Creed, under whatever name it appears, was looked upon by Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian and the leading teachers of the Church as of **binding authority** for all who claimed to be Christians. Paul of Samosata was excommunicated because of his dissent from the Rule of Faith. Tertullian, in his *De virginibus velandis,* calls this rule a *regula fidei immobilis et irreformabilis.*

**b. The Nicene Creed** was the first Creed of the Christian state church and was regarded as binding upon all under **penalty** not only of excommunication, but even of death.[6] The first death sentence on account of heresy was executed upon Priscillian at Treves in 385. From Theodosius the Great on, the Roman emperors, as protectors of the Holy Catholic Church, regarded themselves as charged with the duty of watching with their sword over the integrity of the Christian faith. So it remained during the medieval age. Charles V., when preparing to come to Augsburg in 1530 to sit in judgment in the religious troubles that were then agitating

[5] Cf. in *R. E.* XVI, the article *"Protestantism"* by F. Kattenbusch, pp. 173 (5ff.) and 165 (51); also K. Matthes, *Symbolik*, p. 17.

[6] Cf. p. 71.

Germany, is reported to have said that he would have to ascertain whether the Lutherans were teaching anything contrary to the "twelve articles" (the Apostles' Creed). If this should be found to be the case then, so Charles argued, would the Pope's demand be justified that the inquisition must be instituted in Germany.

c. **A great change** is marked by the year 1648 when in the peace treaty of Osnabrueck, in Westfalia, the Thirty Years' War was ended. Here **it was agreed** that no one any more should be put to death on account of dissent from the faith of a given state church, but that in case a prince should not want to tolerate a religious division in his dominion the dissenting subjects should have the freedom to leave unharmed. It was the **first step** in the direction of the freedom of conscience in religious matters, although for the time being, in concrete cases, such as the expulsion of the Salzburgers (1731), full freedom was made an illusion through that unfortunate principle which was admitted at Osnabrueck: *Cuius regio, ejus religio.*[7] But the leaven of 1648 kept working until gradually almost everywhere dissenters have been accorded legal rights. Among the Reformers **it was especially Luther** who had spoken out for the principle of the freedom of conscience. He did it with these words: "Heresy can never be restrained with force. It must be grasped in another way. This is not the sort of battle that can be settled with the sword. The weapon here is to be God's Word. If that does not decide, the decision will not be effected by worldly force, though it should drench the whole earth with blood. Heresy is a thing of the soul; no steel can cut it out, no waters can drown it. God's Word alone

[7] Cf. J. L. Neve, *Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 2d ed., 1916, p. 46 ff.

can destroy it." (Luther's Werke, by Buchwald et al. VII, 258.).

**d. But Luther's Position on this Matter Must not be Misunderstood.** He **was opposed to** the inflicting of bodily punishment upon those dissenting from the faith of the Church as was the custom and practice of Rome[8] and of which Calvin, Knox and the Pilgrim Fathers in America were also guilty.[9] But Luther **was no advocate** of the freedom of any individual as a member of the Church to teach doctrines contrary to the divine Word. He believed in what we to-day call denominational honesty. According to him a heretic was to be excommunicated whenever his teaching was affecting the life interests of the congregation of believers. That this was his position is clearly shown by the manner in which he dealt with Agricola on account of his antinomism. The case was investigated by means of disputations, and Agricola had to recant if he wanted to maintain his affiliation with the Lutheran communion.

**e. Brief Review of the Particular Symbols of Lutheranism as to Authority accorded them.**

**Literature: G. C. A. von Harless,** *Votum ueber die eidliche Verpflichtung der protestantischen Geistlichen in Sachsen auf die kirchlichen Symbole und die Aenderung oder Aufhebung dieser Verpflichtung.* Leipzig, 1846. **J. W. F. Hoefling,** *De symbolorum natura, necessitate, auctoritate atque usu,* 1841. **W. A. A. N. Caspari,** in article *Homiletik* in *R. E.* VIII, pp. 302 f. **A. G. Rudelbach,** *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Augsb. Konfession. Nebst erneuerter Untersuchung der*

[8] Luther says: *"Mit dem Tode loesen sie alle Argument."*

[9] The Unitarian Michael Servetus, while passing through Geneva, was caught by the order of Calvin and burned at the stake. The early history of Protestantism in England is marked by persecutions, and in New England the Baptists and Quakers were suppressed with the sword.

*Verbindlichkeit der Symbole und der Verpflichtung auf dieselben.* Dresden und Leipzig, 1841. **F. A. Philippi,** *Notwendigkeit und Verbindlichkeit des kirchlichen Bekenntnisses.* Guetersloh, 1880. **E. W. C. Sartorius,** *Die Notwendigkeit und Verbindlichkeit der kirchlichen Glaubensbekenntnisse,* 1845. **Thomasius,** *Das Bekenntnis der ev. luth. Kirche in der Konsequenz seines Prinzips.* Erlangen, 1848. **Bauer,** *Das Bekenntnis der ev. luth. Kirche, sein Recht und seine Bedeutung.* Erlangen, 1875. **H. Mulert,** *Die Lehrverpflichtung in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (a review of the present ordination vows and forms of obligation for theological professors), 1904. **G. Loeber,** *Die im evangelischen Deutschland geltenden Ordinationsverpflichtungen, geschichtlich geordnet,* 1905. **J. O. Evjen,** *The Scandinavians and the Book of Concord,* in *Luth. Quarterly,* April, 1906, p. 248 ff. **J. O. Evjen,** *Lutheran Germany and the Book of Concord, in Luth. Quarterly,* 1907, Jan'y, pp. 68 ff; April, pp. 178 ff; July, pp. 328 ff. For conditions *in America* see Histories of the Lutheran Church in America by H. E. Jacobs, Geo. J. Fritschel and J. L. Neve.

*First.* The **Augsburg Confession with its Apology and the Smalcald Articles,** while not created with any consciousness of their symbolic significance for the future Lutheran Church, soon came to be regarded as guides of great value for the public teaching among Lutherans and as a bond of union among the followers of Luther. The opponents to confessional obligation like to point out that the Lutheran Confessions were merely products of special needs of the hour and were not intended as Creeds, but they overlook the great significance that was attached for instance to the Augsburg Confession right from the beginning. See the enthusiastic utterances on the delivery of the Augsburg Confession by Luther and Spalatin (Cf. J. L. Neve, Augsb. Conf., pp. 44-48). Furthermore, **formal subscription** began at an early time. In 1532 at Freiburg it was demanded of clericals and monks desiring an

office among the Lutherans that they should subscribe to the ancient symbols and the Augsburg Confession. In 1533 a like demand was made upon those promoted with a Doctor's degree to teach in the Lutheran Church. The Constitution (*Kirchenordnung*) for Pommerania of 1535 provided that ministers should teach of faith, works and Sacrament according to the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. Like demands were made at Brunswick (1538), in the Constitution for Hessia (1539), for Wittenberg (1542), for Wurtemberg (1565).[10]

*Second.* **The next step** in the direction of credal obligation in the Lutheran Church was the adoption of codes of symbolical books (*Corpora Doctrinae*). Each state in Germany for itself collected a body of confessional writings with obligatory significance for the teachers of the Church. **The first collection** of that kind was the one for the electorate of Saxony, which appeared 1560 under the title: *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum* and with a foreword of Melanchthon. It contained the three Oecumenical Symbols and the following writings of Melanchthon: The Augsburg Confession,[11] the Apology of 1542, the *Confessio Saxonica*, the *Loci* (ed. of 1556), the *Examen ordinandorum* (1552), the *Responsio articulos Bavaricae inquisitionis*,[12] the *Reformatio Serveti* and the *Responsio de controversio Stancari*.[13] In Pommerania the writings of Luther were added (the two Catechisms and the

[10] Seckendorf, *Commentar histor. de Lutheranismo* III, p. 174. Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, p. 292 f. Schenkel, *Verhaeltnis der Kirche zum Staat*, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1850, p. 453 ff. Caspari in R. E. VIII, 302, 35.

[11] The *Variata* form and also the edition of 1521.

[12] Cf. *Corp. Ref.* IX, 639 sqq., 904.

[13] *Corp. Ref.* XXIII, 87 sqq.

Smalcald Articles). **Opposed** to collections of this kind stood those that were decidedly Lutheran in character, containing, besides the Augsburg Confession and the Apology (in the form of one of the first editions), the Catechisms of Luther and the Smalcald Articles. The following collections may be named: Brunswick (1561), Brandenburg (1572), Prussia (1567), Brunswick Wolfenbuettel (1570-76), Thuringia (1570). Something of this kind had to be done in order to safeguard Lutheranism against the inroads of Calvinism and Crypto-Calvinism.[14]

*Third.* In the **Book of Concord** of 1580, finally, the Lutherans arrived at a collection of symbolic writings intended for all Lutheran territories. The publication of the Book of Concord and the adoption of the same by the great majority of Lutherans is closely connected with the history of the Formula of Concord, of which we have an extensive discussion in Dr. Geo. J. Fritschel's monograph (see our Foreword), pp. 113-124. We shall therefore not treat of this matter here.

**Note 1.** *Denmark* and *Norway* refused to adopt the Formula of Concord. *Sweden*, since 1649, included it among the symbolic writings that were to be obligatory for the ministry. This action was confirmed in 1663 and 1686. But in a new constitution of 1809 the Augsburg Confession only is mentioned. The uncertainty as to whether the whole Book of Concord is binding for Sweden or not has given rise to sharp controversies. A final decision has not yet been made.[15]

**Note 2.** In *America* the situation is as follows: All component parts of the Synodical Conference, the General Council (including the Swedish Augustana Synod), the United Synod of the South, the Joint Synod of Ohio, Iowa Synod and Buffalo

[14] See the article by G. Kawerau on *Corpora Doctrinae* in *R. E.* IV, 293-98.

[15] Cf. G. Aulen in *R. E.* XVIII, pp. 31, 36.

Synod, demand subscription to the whole Book of Concord. The Norwegian and Danish bodies subscribe only to the unaltered Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism of Luther. This is the case even with those Norwegians which formerly were a part of the Synodical Conference (the Norwegian Lutheran Synod). The General Synod, since 1913, places itself upon the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and regards the "Secondary Symbols" (from Apology to Formula of Concord) "as expositions of Lutheran doctrine of great historical and interpretative value".[16]

f. As to **the Degree of the Binding Force of the Symbols Among Lutherans,** we note,

*First,* **the testimony of the Formula of Concord on this matter:** (1) It is expressly stated that the "symbols and writings cited are *not judges, as are the Holy Scriptures, but only* **witness** *and declaration of faith,* as to how at any time the Holy Scriptures have been understood and explained in the articles of controversy in the Church of God by those who then lived, and how the opposite dogma was rejected and condemned."[17] (2) And yet, different from "other good, useful, pure books, expositions of the Holy Scriptures, explanations of doctrinal articles"[18] these Confessions (oecumenical and particular)[19] are **"accepted"**[20] as "a unanimously received, definite, common form of doctrine, which our Evangelical churches together and in common confess." And why are they confessionally

---

[16] On confessional obligation in the Lutheran Church of America see *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the Ev. Luth. Church in the United States,* 4th ed., Lutheran Publication Society, Phila., 1914; also J. L. Neve, *Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America,* 2d ed., 1916.

[17] Epitome, or Part I, Introduction, p. 492, 8. The same thought is expressed in the Solid Declaration or Part II, pp. 537, 9; 538, 13.

[18] Part II, p. 537, 10.

[19] In enumerating the particular Symbols of Lutheranism the Formula of Concord does not include itself.

[20] This expression is repeated four times.

"accepted"? The following answer is given: "Because *(quia)* it (the *Augsburg Confession)* has been derived from God's Word and is founded firmly and well therein" (sed quia e verbo Domini est desumpta).[21] The *Apology* is accepted "as confessional, because *(quia)* in it the said Augsburg Confession is not only sufficiently elucidated, but also confirmed by clear irrefutable testimonies of Holy Scripture."[22] The *Smalcald Articles* are confessionally accepted, because (*quia*) "in them the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession is repeated and some articles are stated at greater length from God's Word," etc. Finally, the two *Catechisms* of Luther are accepted confessionally, "because (*quia*) these highly important matters belong also to the common people and laity, who, for their salvation, must distinguish between pure and false doctrine * * * and because (*quia*) also in them the Christian doctrine from God's Word is comprised in the most correct and simple way."[23]

Of **"other good, useful, pure books"** the statement is made that they "should be judged and adjusted *as to how far* (*quatenus*) they are to be approved and accepted."[24]

A Creed should be subscribed to with a **quia.** With merely a **quatenus** we could even subscribe to the decrees of the Council of Trent, or of Dort, the Westminster Confession or the Heidelberg Catechism. The subscription of a servant of the Church must be a real confession; not anything evasive, but positive. A congregation has a right to know where its minister stands. As servant of a Lutheran congregation it is not sufficient that he pledges his fidelity to the Scriptures, but

[21] Part II, p. 536, 5.
[22] Part II, 536, 6.
[23] Part II, 237, 8.
[24] Part II, 537, 10.

he must accept the Scriptures as understood by the Lutheran Church.

There are good men, seriously intending to teach in harmony with the Scriptures, who are troubled in their conscience when confronted with the demand of subscribing to the confessions with a *quia*. They think that they should know more of the Confessions before they could declare solemnly without reservation that these express the Scripture truth. They also think that while at present they know of no matters in the Confessions that are contradictory to Scripture truth they may change their conviction in the future, when they come to examine the contents more in detail and with more maturity of judgment than can be done at the present time. Furthermore, the number of symbolic writings to be covered with a *quia* subscription is not the same in all Lutheran bodies. Some demand subscription only to the unaltered Augsburg Confession, others include Luther's Small Catchism, others all the writings of the Book of Concord. The question is asked: How can a candidate for the ministry be ready to subscribe to Melanchthon's Apology of many pages, to the Smalcald Articles, to Luther's Larger Catechism and to the Formula of Concord with a declaration that he accepts these writings because (*quia*) their teachings agree with the Scriptures?

To begin with the last mentioned difficulty of those who have to subscribe to the whole Book of Concord we must ask the reader again to examine the above quotations from the Introduction to the Book of Concord. *Why is the Apology accepted as confessional?* Because of its elucidation of the Augsb. Confession and because of the clear testimonies from Scripture that are adduced. There is no claim that everything in the Apology has the character of confessional substance. A remark, therefore, as that on p. 214 (4) where three Sacraments are counted, is self-exclusive. And *why are the Smalcald Articles accepted?* Because they are a repetition of the Augsburg Confession and some articles are stated at greater length from God's Word and because they signify a permanent break with Romanism. Subscription to these articles does not mean that every occasional remark is confessional substance. In all of the more extensive writings the reference is always to the Augsburg Confession and to the legitimate development of this

Confession, particularly on points that became matters of misunderstanding among Lutherans after the Augsburg Confession was written. He who subscribes the *unaltered* Augsburg Confession practically enters the same obligation with those subscribing the whole Book of Concord, because the later writings have as their chief purpose the aim of establishing and fortifying the original Lutheran principles.

*Can we expect a candidate for the ministry, as a rule a young man who has just come from the seminary, to be matured sufficiently for a quia subscription?* He certainly should be sufficiently familiar with all the leading principles involved. It may be admitted that in our theological seminaries more stress should be laid upon a study of the larger confessional writings. We should not only have an historical introduction leading up to the document, but with the historical keys we should now study the contents. For this purpose the synopses have been given in this book.

But even if the candidate for ordination should not have read everything in the Book of Concord, or should not have read all with the care of the student who delves down to the last foundations would it be impossible for him *to find a ground for a quia subscription?* We think not. Let us not overlook the fact that Lutheranism, as expressed in the Confessions, is a system that rests upon some fundamental articles of faith. The central article is that of justification by faith, and there are others of great importance in the direction of anthropology (Augsburg Confession, article II, XVIII), of soteriology (III, IV, VI), of ecclesiology (VII, VIII), of the means of grace (V, IX, X, XIII), etc. If the candidate for ordination is in harmony with Lutheranism in such fundamentals he can subscribe with a *quia*. Lutheranism, like Romanism, Calvinism, Socinianism, is a system. Even the doctrines more remote from the centre have been formulated in entire agreement with the central doctrine of justification and the other doctrines of fundamental importance.

A *quia subscription does not bind a minister for all time of his life.* If ever his conviction should undergo a change the *quia* ceases as far as his personal attitude is concerned. Our duty to regard the Scriptures as the supreme judge in matters of faith (as *norma normans*) never ceases, and no

mortal has the right to interfere with our freedom of conscience in case we cannot any more use the *quia*[25]. But then denominational honesty, or, better expressed, our conscience should lead us to withdraw and to join the church which expresses our new faith.[26] Karl Burger, in his article on *"Orthodoxy"* in *R. E.* XIV, p. 496, 38, says very fittingly: "On this there can be no doubt that he is an unhappy man who teaches doctrines against his inner conviction; also that he is a dishonest man, who uses his office for the work of undermining and to attack the Confession of his church."

*Second.* For the stimulation of thought on the subject under discussion we shall here present the views of three present-day writers.

(1) **Prof. R. Seeberg** (Berlin) takes the position that confessional obligation does not include assent to the theological form of the Creed, because the theological form is accidental and will change with the ages. He quotes Luther who once said that he hated the *homoousios,* but believed in the substance for which this term stood.[27] Seeberg then says that *two things are essential* in confessional subscription: (1) the rejection of a certain position or doctrine; (2) the affirmation of the religious tendency which excludes this doctrine. The question is: **Can we surrender the theological terminology of the creeds, without sacrificing essential parts of the substance?**

(2) This question is answered in the affirmative even by a Lutheran like **Dr. W. Walther,** Professor at

---

[25] It is in this sense of a right to change our conviction that the *quatenus* never loses a legitimate place in the conduct of the Christian minister. Cf. Caspari in article on *Homiletik* in *R. E.* VIII, p. 303, 20.

[26] See J. L. Neve, *The Augsburg Confession,* p. 16.

[27] *History of Doctrines* I, p. 21; cf. 2nd edition, German, p. 10, and the fuller discussion of this principle in Seeberg on the *Fundamental Truths of Christianity,* 3rd ed., 1903.

Rostock in Germany.[28] He does not go quite as far as Seeberg who, with regard to the positive side, demanded only an affirmation of the religious "tendency" to exclude the opposing doctrine. But Walther also *insists upon the distinction between substance and theological form,* with the principle that the former is binding and the latter not. Speaking of the theological form, Dr. Walther again distinguishes between *terms* that are employed and the *frame* of a given article in which the terms occur. He regards both as not binding on the ground that they do not affect the substance. He also quotes Luther's criticism of the *homoousios,* and he adds to this instance another: The Nicene Creed, in its accepted form (385) begins with the words: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty." This has been corrected in the Athanasian Creed in such a way that the one God in whom we believe is not the Father, but "the one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." So in this case at least the form of the Nicene Creed cannot be binding. We come back to our question: Can we surrender the theological terminology of the Creeds without detracting from their substance?

(3) A writer in the *Allgemeine Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung* (Leipzig) April 28, 1911 (Lic. theol. **Dr. Stier** of Breslau), in a controversy with Dr. Theodor Kaftan who occupies the above mentioned position of Seeberg, namely, that to the obligatory elements in the Confessions belongs merely the tendency which the Creed opposes to error (*die im Bekenntnis ausgedrueckte Idee, die Glaubensidee),* expresses himself in a

[28] See his article in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* Oct. 13th, 1913 (Leipzig); reprinted in *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* of the Iowa Synod, Nov. 1913, p. 461 ff. (Chicago).

very able manner as opposed to any discrediting of the theological form of our Confessions. The controversy had special reference to the Creeds of the ancient Church. Here Kaftan had taken the position that since the framework and the terminology of the ancient Creeds were bearing the marks of the Greek mind with its inclination and talent for speculation, these matters which have served as a form for the faith of our Church should be regarded as merely accidental, and the Church of to-day should return to modes of expression as contained in the Scriptures. To this suggestion Dr. Stier objects that the substance of our Confessions, the essential and necessary matter in them, that what claims our faith, is not just the confessional thought *(die Bekenntnisidee)*, but also the peculiar form through which the thought came to be expressed. "The form may be of an accidental nature, and yet since it has, so to say, entered into wedlock with the Confession it is now, for our conception, essential to that Confession. We cannot now put asunder what God has joined together. And why not? This very form grips or coins the thought in a very peculiar way; it expresses the thought once for all. The form limits the confessional thought and determines its direction. It keeps the thought *(Idee)* from assimilating heterogeneous elements and so to run into seed. . . . The objection is that the forms and terms were created by another age than ours.[29] But we have no new forms and terms. Those that are offered as substitutes fail to satisfy.[30]

[29] Dr. Stier has reference particularly to the Trinitarian and Christological terms in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, such as *essence* or *substance, person, nature.*

[30] Th. Kaftan, in a widely discussed pamphlet, had suggested new expressions for the divinity of Christ and its relation to His humanity, in order to do away with the Logos theology of the ancient Church.

Let us not forget that these old terms have served us well during the ancient and the medieval ages (*"diese Formen haben den Druck der Gegensaetze getragen der alten und der mittelalterlichen Welt"*).

To this discussion we shall add a few remarks. In the first place, *we appreciate in Seeberg's statement the distinction between something that we reject and something we accept when we subscribe to a Creed.* The significance of the symbolical books does not lie merely in their antithesis to erroneous teaching. A real Church cannot live on negation. For Protestantism at the time of the Reformation, therefore, it was not enough simply to protest against Romanism, but the adherents to the new Church had to say in a positive way which new doctrines they opposed to the old. Their negation had its root in a better conception which was expressed in the Augsburg Confession.[31] The question is only whether Seeberg makes enough of the positive side in the Creed. An affirmation of the "religious tendency" which excludes a certain erroneous doctrine is hardly sufficient. Here Dr. Stier offers a valuable correction. And yet we do not deny that there are elements of truth in the statements of both Seeberg and Walther. Only it should be kept in mind that all cases are not alike. The *frame* of the Nicene Creed as such does not appeal to us as being symbolical, but how with the Apostles' Creed? How with Luther's interpretation of the articles of that Creed? How with articles II and IV and X of the Augsburg Confession? Most of the terms of the Athanasian Creed could not be abandoned without seriously endangering the very essence of the faith.

---

[31] Cf. Caspari in article *Homiletik* in *R. E.* VIII, 303, 9. Schleiermacher, *Praktische Theologie*, p. 645.

What of the terminology in the first paragraph of Art. II in the Augsburg Confession could we dispense with? It reads: "Also they teach, that since the fall of Adam, all men begotten according to nature, are born with sin, that is without the fear of God, and with concupiscence; and that this disease, or vice of origin, is truly sin, even now condemning and bringing eternal death upon those not born again through Baptism and the Holy Ghost." But then again when we have in mind the more lengthy articles of the Confession and especially the Secondary Symbols, the cases may be argued, although even here there are many terms that must be regarded as symbolical even by him who subscribes only to the unaltered Augsburg Confession.

**Note:** On the degree of the binding force of Symbols there has been much discussion in the Lutheran Church of America. We refer here chiefly to the controversies in the General Synod, and between the Iowa and Missouri synods. (Cf. Neve, *Brief History,* pp. 176-84, and p. 451 on General Synod; Fritschel, pp. 284-98 and p. 441 on Iowa and Missouri.)

## THE OECUMENICAL SYMBOLS.

We speak of the "Oecumenical Symbols" as contrasted with the "Particular Symbols" of Lutheranism. By the Oecumenical Symbols we understand the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed. We call these "oecumenical," because they represent in the main the confessional basis for all churches in Christendom. Some churches, as, for instance, the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, may not accept formally the Athanasian Creed and some may omit from the Apostles' Creed the phrase on the descensus. Again, a church like the "Christians" (Campbellites) may refuse to accept any Creed; yet the theology of the Oecumenical Creeds in their fundamental features, particularly with reference to Trinity and Christology, is, so to speak, the common ground among the so-called "orthodox churches" of Christendom. The term "Oecumenical Creeds" was used for the first time in the Formula of Concord of the Lutheran Church.[32] Luther himself emphasized his agreement with them.

### I. THE APOSTLES' CREED.

**Literature:** We shall mention only the most important works, such as are of special practical value to-day; for an enumeration of all the literature on the subject up to 1837, see **Koellner,** *Symbolik;* for literature up-to-date see the article of **Harnack** on the Apostles' Creed in the last edition of the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, which is an abbreviation of the Hauck

[32] Jacobs' edition, p. 535.

edition (3rd) of Herzog's work in German, now in 22 volumes. By *"R. E."* we always mean the German work.

As of special importance we mention first the works of Dr. **Carl Paul Caspari** at the university of Christiania in Norway (d. 1892). For the purpose of refuting Grundtvigianism (cf. note on page 51) he visited almost all European countries in order to collect and to investigate the sources of knowledge on the Apostles' Creed and the Rules of Faith, and so, for the first time, brought this study upon a genuinely scientific basis. His chief works upon the subject are 1) *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel,* in three volumes, 1866, 69, 75, Christiania; 2) *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel,* Christiania, 1879. 3) *Das apostolische Symbol: seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine urspruengliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche.* Vol. I has the special title: *Die Grundgestalt des Taufsymbols,* Leipzig, 1894; Vol. II the title: *Verbreitung und Bedeutung des Taufsymbols,* 1900. The so-called **Hahn's Library** (*Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*), now in 3rd ed., Breslau, 1879, offers much material. The investigations of **A. Harnack,** published in numerous periodicals and admirably summarized in the above-mentioned *R. E.* I, 741-55 have stimulated further research in the matter. The following works are here to be mentioned: **Th. Zahn,** *Das apostolische Symbolum,* Erlangen and Leipzig, 1893 (English translation under the title *"The Articles of the Apostles' Creed"*, by **A. E. Burn,** London, 1899). Burn, *An introduction to the Creeds and to the Te Deum,* London, 1899. A great work in two volumes has been published by **F. Kattenbusch:** *Das Apostolische Symbol,* Leipzig, 1894 and 1900. Finally we mention the following two books: **A. C. McGiffert** (Union Seminary, New York) *The Apostles' Creed,* Scribner's, 1902. **W. Laible,** *The Truth of the Apostles' Creed,* an exposition by twelve theologians of Germany (a translation by C. E.Hay, Luth. Publ. Soc'y, Phila., 1916).

**1. Origin and Development.** What we have learned of our Creed with the aid of patristic and post-patristic literature has disposed

**a. Of the old legend** that the Apostles had written it before starting on their missionary journeys, each of them contributing a sentence. It was the orthodox view during the medieval ages up to the fifteenth century. The humanist *Laurentius Valla* (d. 1457) was the first to question the historicity of it, believing that the Creed had been written by the Nicene fathers. But the inquisition compelled him to recant. *Erasmus* renewed the doubt with a timid remark, but his book was censored by the Paris University. The *Lutherans* (Selneccer, Chytraeus et al.) in the Magdeb. Centur. at first defended the legend, though Luther himself did not insist upon the Apostolic origin. *Calvin* doubted the Apostolic authorship. Soon all Lutherans (Brentz, Buddeus et al.) took the same position. To-day the **legend is abandoned** by practically all Protestant scholars. It is impossible (1) because of the silence of the N. T. on the matter; (2) because the Church Fathers of the first centuries know nothing of it; the presbyter Rufinus of Aquileja (about 390), the first to tell of it, reports it as a legend;[33] (3) the oecumenical councils of the first centuries are ignorant of it; (4) it originated in the Latin part of the Church.

b. The view **that Christ Himself was the author** of this Creed and had delivered it to the Apostles was advanced by *Lessing* (1778) and assented to by *Dellbrueck* (1826), *Rudelbach* (1844), and especially by the Danish theologian **Grundtvig** (d. 1872) who held that

[33] To be correct, we should say that Rufinus, in his *Expositio Symboli Apostolici*, reported only in a general way the conception of the Creed by the Apostles, and that later, in sermons attributed to Augustine (but more probably written by Caesarius of Arles (543), it was added that each of the Apostles had contributed a phrase. In what manner, see in Schaff, *Creeds* I, 22; also in McGiffert, p. 29.

Christ had communicated it to His disciples during the time between Ascension and Pentecost.[34] But the same objections as quoted in our preceding paragraph would hold against this view.

**c. The present form** of the Apostles' Creed, our received text *(textus receptus)*, dates from the close of the fifth century (cf. below under h).[35] This form (of which we shall have a good deal more to say below under g and h, and, regarding the contents, under 2) was used during the medieval ages, and from here the "Apostles' Creed" was received by the churches of the Reformation.[36]

**d. The Apostles' Creed a Gradual Development.** While it is true that the present text (*textus receptus*), as a complete whole, is of a late date, yet, to place the correct estimation upon this Creed, it must be kept in mind that forms with almost all the separate parts of our present text, though varying as to composition in the different localities in the East and in the West, can be traced back to the earliest centuries. Even where we do not know with absolute certainty of the existence of a formal Creed, *the words and phrases were*

---

[34] Cf. note under I, 3, b.

[35] The oldest known copies cannot be traced beyond the eighth or ninth century. We mention especially the *Psalterium Graecum papae magni*, preserved in the library of the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, first published by Usher, 1647, containing a copy that was the property of Gregory III (not Gregory I, as Caspari has shown) whose pontificate was between 731 and 741. There are other copies which we shall not take space to mention here. The clearest enumeration we have seen is in G. F. Oehler, *Symbolik*, p. 57. See also Ph. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* I, 20.

[36] On the use of the Symbol in the medieval ages, see Fr. Wiegand, *Die Stellung des apostolischen Symbols im kirchlichen Leben des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1903.

*in use fairly up to the age of the Apostles.*[37] We must remember that the Apostles' Creed is a gradual development with the kernel and the substance of its contents in touch with the Apostolic age. Our Creed does not owe its existence to any special historical circumstance, like the Nicene Creed. Neither is it the work of a certain author, like the Athanasian Creed. It is a growth out of the life of the Church: stone after stone chosen, added or reset according to needs, and always builded with Apostolic material.[38] The Creed itself represents a life, and as the beginning of all life is shrouded in mystery, so is also the life of this Symbol. The mystery which surrounds the origin and development of our Apostles' Creed is to be explained, to a large extent, out of the practice of the early Church to keep certain things (the Lord's Prayer, the Baptismal Formula, the Eucharist, the benediction) from the knowledge of the non-Christians.[39] The Creed was not written. Augustine says: *"Symbolum nemo scribit."* It was taught the catechumens shortly before their Baptism and memorized.[40] This explains the difficulty in tracing its origin and development.

**e. First Traces of the Apostles' Creed.** It is a development of the *Baptismal Formula and the Rule*

---

[37] McGiffert dismisses this fact as of no significance, because we cannot point to existing forms; Kattenbusch, on the other hand, undertakes to trace the old Roman Symbol (cf. below f.) back to about 100.

[38] Some scholars, among them also Kattenbusch, say that the aim of the Creed was merely evangelistic; others, like McGiffert (pp. 11 ff. and 34) insist that it was exclusively polemical. We cannot see why both views cannot be combined.

[39] Cf. the articles on *disciplina arcani.*

[40] See Oehler, *Symbolik,* p. 37; Zetschwitz, *System der Katechetik* I, 127 ff; Caspari II, 57; Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 1. I c. 1; Heuertley 1. c. pp. 103-116.

*of Faith.*[41] According to **Matthew 28:19** the believers were to be baptized into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. We cannot, however, prove from the Epistles of the N. T. that this Trinitarian formula was employed; *the confession of Christ stands decidedly in the centre.* So it remained in the post-Apostolic age.[42] It is always the **faith in Christ,** from the seed of David, born of the virgin, suffered under Pilate, raised from the dead by the Father, sitting at the right hand of God, whence He shall come for judgment.

But to return again to the Apostolic age, our interest is attracted by the fact that there is in the New Testament a fixed tradition (1 Cor. 4:18) not only for a Christian life,[43] but also for a Christian faith. Prof. R. Seeberg[43a] sees references to such **fixed doctrinal tradition** in the following expressions of the N. T. Epistles: Profession, or ὁμολογία (1 Tim. 6:12; Hebr. 10:23; 4: 14), παραθήκη, or, things that have been committed (1 Tim. 6:20; 2 Tim. 1:12. 14), faith, πίστις (Jud. 3:20; Tit. 1:13; Col. 1:1), the word of truth, ἀλήθεια (1 Pet. 1:22, cf. Col. 1:5), form of doctrine, διδαχή (Rom. 6:17; 16:17; 2 John 9:f.; Heb. 6:2), the gospel, εὐαγγέλιον (Rom. 2:16; 16:25; Gal. 2:2; 1 Cor. 15:1), sound teaching (2 Tim. 1:13), words of faith (1 Tim. 4:6). It is possible that we here have to

---

[41] On how to distinguish between the following oft-mentioned terms "Apostolic Tradition", "Baptismal Formula" and "Rule of Faith", see R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte* I, pp. 295-301 (2d ed. of 1908); F. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte,* pp. 131-34 (4th ed. 1906); Kurtz, *Church History* (1888), p. 34, 7; Thomasius, *Christliche Dogmengeschichte* I, 103 (2d ed., 1886); Fisher, *History of Doctrines* (1906).

[42] Cf. Ign. *ad Thrall.* 9:1. 2; *ad Smyrn.* 1:1. 2; *ad Magn.* 11:1; *ad Rom.* 6:1; *ad Phil. inscr.* Eph. 18:2; Polycarp *ad Phil.* 2:1.

[43] Phil. 4:9; Gal. 5:19-23; 1 Cor. 6:9 f.; 5:10 f.; Col. 3:5 ff.; Eph. 4:31; 5:3 ff.; 1 Tim. 1:9f. 27; 3:2 ff., etc.

[43a] *Dogmengeschichte,* 2d ed., p. 66.

**distinguish between a wider and a narrower conception.** Expressions such as gospel, faith, seem to comprise the whole Christian teaching, namely Christ's descent from David, His divinity, His suffering, resurrection, ascent to heaven, His sitting at the right hand of the Father and on the work of the Spirit, on Baptism and the Eucharist. But different from this catechetical material seemed to be the **profession** (ὁμολογία) to be made at Baptism. What Paul writes 1 Cor. 15:3-4 sounds like a fragment of a Baptismal Formula: "For I have delivered unto you first of all that which I also received," (and now follows that ὅτι which is identical with our quotation marks) "how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and after that He was seen by Cephas, then of the twelve."[44]

Let us again step into the post-Apostolic age with the question: **When did the Trinitarian division of the faith take the place of the Christological?** Or more specific: Since when did it become the practice to administer Baptism in the name of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost? It must have been *about the time of 150 A. D.,* because a passage in Justin the Martyr's Apology (1, 61) gives testimony to that fact. *The change can easily be explained.* To bring the Jews into the Christian fold, the older Christological form was the natural one; they believed in God, but for them it was essential to express belief in Jesus Christ. Different it was with the Christians from the Gentiles; they were to be established in the profession to the one

[44] Special investigations along this line have been made by A. Seeberg, in his *Katechismus der Urchristenheit,* Leipzig, 1903.

God, the Creator of heaven and earth. By this time the Gospel of Matthew had also become more known.[45]

We now pass on to a period of **fixed formulas** which more and more resemble our Creed. In reading the following quotations we must keep in mind that a literal repetition of the Baptismal Formula was avoided as much as possible. *Symbolum nemo scribit.* We have only periphrastic and explanatory references.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (110) writes: "Be ye deaf, therefore, when any man speaketh to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the Son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and on earth and below the earth; who also was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised Him, who will raise us also in like manner who believe on Him."[46] Note the exclusively Christological character of this quotation, being in harmony with what we said above as to the time when the Trinitarian division first appeared.

**Irenaeus** (about 180) writes: "The Church, though scattered through the whole world to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples the faith in one God, the Father Almighty, who hath made the heaven and the earth and the seas and all that is in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who

---

[45] We do not want to be misunderstood. In what has been said there was no intention to deny that there are in the N. T., from Matthew to the Apocalypse, many references to the Trinitarian conception (as, for instance, in 2 Cor. 13:13). We have spoken only of Baptism and the Baptismal Formula.

[46] *Ad Thrall.* 9. Cf. W. A. Curtis, *History of Creeds,* p. 49 (Edinburgh, 1911).

was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents, and the birth from the virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the bodily assumption into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord," etc.[47] Irenaeus speaks of an identity of the Baptismal Confession in the entire Christian Church. "It is one as the sun is only one."[48]

**Tertullian** (about 200) quotes or paraphrases the "Rule of Faith" as follows: "The Rule of Faith is altogether one, sole, immovable, and irreformable, namely to believe in one God Almighty, the maker of the world; and His Son, Jesus Christ, born of the virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, on the third day raised again from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, coming to judge the living and the dead, also through the resurrection of the flesh."[49] In two other passages[50] there are additions on the Holy Spirit. With Tertullian we are sure that by Rule of Faith he does not mean the Holy Scripture. To him it is a Creed, a "token," a "Symbol".[51]

Tertullian had reference to the Creed of the West of which we shall treat immediately (cf. below under f.). But in the third century it is in evidence that there were **Creeds in the East** in various localities, though not delivered in literal quotations. But there is in the literature extant enough material to furnish a basis for

---

[47] *Adv. Haereses,* 1. 10, § 1. See Curtis, p. 50. A like passage is quoted from III. 4, §§ 1. 2.

[48] *Adv. Haereses* 1. 10.

[49] *De virginibus velandis,* c. 1.

[50] *Adv. Praxeam,* c. 11; *De Praescript. Haeret.* c. xlii.

[51] *De Praescriptione Haeret.* c. xxxvi. Cf. Curtis, p. 53.

compositions. So *Kunze* has **reconstructed** the Creed of Antioch[52] as follows:

I. 1. I believe in one and an only true God, Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible.
II. 2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, the only begotten and firstborn of all creation, begotten of Him before all the ages, through whom also the ages were established, and all things came into existence.
3. Who, for our sakes, came down and was born of Mary the Virgin,
4. And crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried,
5. And the third day rose according to the Scriptures,
6. And ascended into heaven.
7. (lacking.)
8. And is coming again to judge the quick and dead.
III. 9. (The beginning of the third article is lacking.)
10. (lacking.)
11. Remission of sins.
12. Resurrection of the dead, life everlasting.

*Th. Zahn* has **reconstructed** the Creed from the *Didascalia Apostolorum,* a book written in the third century, not far from Antioch.[53] It reads as follows:

*(Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift,* VII, 1896, p. 23)

I. 1. I believe in God Almighty.
II. 2. And in our Lord Jesus Christ (His Son?), who for us came and
3. was born of (Mary the ?) a virgin,
4. and was crucified under Pontius Pilate and died,
5. the third day rose from (the ?) dead,
6. and ascended into the heavens,
7. and sitteth on the Right Hand of God the Almighty,
8. and is coming with power and glory to judge the dead and living.

---

[52] *Theol. Litteraturblatt,* XXXIII, (1911), 19, 221. Cf. J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* IV, 237.

[53] Cf. Kurtz, *Church History,* ed. 1888, § 43, 4.

III. 9. And in the Holy Ghost
10. (a holy church?)
12. resurrection of the dead.

**f. The "Old Roman Symbol"** is of special importance in tracing the origin and development of the Apostles' Creed, because here we are *leaving the grounds of conjecture* and have to do with an incontestable fact of history, even as to the text of the Symbol. By two men we have a literal quotation of the Creed as it was in use at Rome. Rufinus of Aquileja in Italy (about 400) makes it possible for us to reconstruct reliably the Latin text of this Creed as he compares it with that of his own Church, on which he writes an interesting commentary *Expositio Symboli Apostolici*[54]). Another, Marcellus of Ancyra in Galatia, came to Rome as an exile and, being accused of Sabellianism, he adopted this Creed in the form of a letter to the Roman Pope Julius, in which he quotes the Roman Creed in Greek (337).[55] So we have even a confirmation of the existence of that Roman Symbol and its text. We now **proceed to give the text,** translated into English.[56]

I believe in God the Father Almighty.[57]
And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord;
Who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary;
Was crucified under Pontius Pilate and was buried;
The third day He rose from the dead;
He ascended into heaven; and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father;

---

[54] Cf. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, III, 541 f.

[55] Preserved by Epiphanius, *Panarion haereses* 72; cf. Hahn, p. 17; Caspari 3, 4 ff.; Kattenbusch I, 64 f.; McGiffert, p. 40.

[56] See the Greek and Latin texts as given by McGiffert, pp. 42 and 43; also in *R. E.* by Harnack, vol. I, 744 the Greek (cf. Schaff-Herzog).

[57] Marcellus omitted "Father".

From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
And in the Holy Ghost;
The Holy Church;
The forgiveness of sins;
The resurrection of the body (flesh).[58]

As to the question, **how far back the Roman Symbol can be traced,** space does not permit us to go into detailed investigation. We shall only say that scholars agree in general that *Tertullian knew this Symbol* (cf. our quotation above under e). McGiffert sums up his investigation on the matter (pp. 46-83) by saying: "So far, then, as the testimony of the extant document goes, R must have *originated in the third quarter of the second century,* in the interval between the literary activity of Justin Martyr and that of Irenaeus." Some scholars, though differing among themselves on the question referred to below (under g), going on the presumption that the Rule of Faith and the Apostles' Creed are practically identical take this Old Roman Symbol (its predecessors or the outline of it) *up to the Apostolic age,* or at least very near to it.

**g. The Relation of the Old Roman Symbol to the Creeds in Asia Minor and the East in General** is a perplexing problem. The question is *whether the Eastern Creeds*[59] *came into existence independent of the*

---

[58] Marcellus adds "eternal life".

[59] Such as Irenaeus *may* have known when he wrote as quoted under e of our discourse from *Adv. Haereses,* 1, 10, p. 1, and the Creeds of Lucian at Antioch (about 300, cf. W. A. Curtis, *Hist. of Creeds,* p. 55), of Eusebius at Caesarea (about 325, cf. Curtis, p. 57), of Cyril at Jerusalem (about 350, cf. Curtis, p. 58) and the Apostolic Constitutions at Antioch (about 350, cf. Curtis, p. 59). These Eastern Creeds are all *characteristic for their elasticity of outward form* (different from the stationary form of the Old Roman Symbol and the Western Creeds in general). They contain dogmatic expansions designed to rebuke and

*Old Roman Symbol, or whether this Roman Creed was the source of all the ancient forms,* even of those in the East. On this question we have an **unsettled controversy,** with the scholars sharply divided into two camps. Kattenbusch, Harnack, McGiffert, insist that the Roman Symbol is the parent of all other forms including those of Asia Minor[60], while Zahn, Burn, Sandy, Kunze, Seeberg (following Caspari) defend the independency of the Eastern Creeds. We cannot here incorporate the argumentation.[61] As to the origin of the Old Roman Symbol we know nothing definite. All is conjecture. Neither do we know anything reliable about the common source of the Creeds in Asia Minor.

**h. From the Roman Symbol to the Textus Receptus.** Our present Apostles' Creed is not identical in all parts with the Old Roman Symbol, as has been indicated (under f.). Additional phrases have been added. **How could a change take place** since we know that Rome, up to the fifth century, had been watching jealously the integrity of its Creed?

We must remember that it was *only up to the fifth century* that the Roman Church used the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Confession. Then a remarkable change took place. The East Goths (under Odoaker) brought their Arianism into dangerous contact with Rome. Now *the Roman Church decided* to

---

to restrain the speculations and the eccentric opinions abroad everywhere in the churches of Asia and Egypt. The oecumenical councils have followed the Eastern Creeds, as can easily be seen when we compare them with the Nicene Creed; they have not followed the more practical type of the Roman Symbol.

[60] Antioch is especially regarded as the birthplace of the Creeds of Palestine and Egypt.

[61] See Harnack in Hauck's R. E. I, 741, cf. Schaff-Herzog; Hasting's *Encyclopedia* IV, 237; Kattenbusch, Zahn, McGiffert, ut supra; R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte* (2nd ed.).

use in place of the Old Symbol the Nicene Creed because of its clear antithesis to Arianism. Three centuries later, the Roman Church *again returned* to using the Apostles' Creed for Baptism and in the services of the sanctuary (see reasons also by Harnack R. E. I, 754). But in the meantime, the habit of the churches outside of Rome of adding some phrases of particular significance had *developed in Western Gaul the present form of our Creed.* This altered Creed was **now accepted by Rome,** because the additions had indeed a historic right, since most of them had been in use in the earliest times of the Church in various localities.[62] The form which now came into use was soon accepted in the whole West, and this form it was that was **later taken into the Catechisms of Luther** and also into the Heidelberg Catechism.[63]

**2. The Contents of the Apostles' Creed.** (Cf. Schaff, p. 21; McGiffert, 108 ff.; Oehler, *Symbolik* 54 f.; Laible, *"The Truth of the Apostles' Creed"* in various articles).

**Article I.** in the Old Roman Symbol read: *"I believe in God the Father Almighty."* The Creed of Aquileja added *"invisible and impassible"* (against Sabellianism and Patripassianism). The Eastern Creeds, at a time when heathenism was the chief opposition, inserted *"one"* before "God." The present text has in addition

[62] Harnack in *R. E.* I, 754 (25), cf. Schaff-Herzog; Oehler, *Symbolik,* p. 58. It may here be mentioned that the Apostles' Creed did not at the same time also return into use in the East, which explains why the Nicene Creed is used in the Greek Catholic Church up to this day.

[63] While the *Psalterium Graecum* (mentioned under c of our discourse) contains the oldest known *copy* we have the earliest *quotation* of our Creed in its final form in a treatise by Pirmius, Benedictine missionary and founder of the Abbey of Reichenau in South Germany, entitled *Scarapsus,* 730. Cf. Curtis, p. 63; Oehler, p. 85.

the phrase *"creator of heaven and earth,"* but the same or a like phrase was contained in the Rules of Faith in the ante-Nicene time, and was taken over into the Nicene Creed as a confession against the Gnostics which made a distinction between the true God and the Demiurge as the real Maker of the world.

**Article II.** The *"conceived of the Holy Ghost,"* it is to be admitted, was not used by the earlier forms of the East, neither was it in the Old Roman Symbol. It appears as a credal statement for the first time in a confession of orthodox bishops in 359[64] and because it was taught in Luke (1:31.35) it was taken into the *textus receptus.*

*"Of"* (ἐκ, ex) the Virgin Mary came to be preferred to the διὰ, because it brings out more clearly the reality of Christ's life against the docetic tendencies. Some forms had *"truly* born."

*"Suffered" (passus)* and *"dead" (mortuus)* are additions of the *textus receptus,* but we meet these expressions already in the Eastern Symbols. There is no doctrinal tendency in these amplifications, but the aim is merely at more completeness.

The same can be said of the phrase of the present text, *"He descended into hell,"* which was not in the Old Roman Symbol, but was found already in the Aquilejan Creed.[65] The meaning is that Christ descended into the underworld, the abode of the dead before their resurrection, which, on the basis of the Scriptures, was believed already in the first century.

In the following phrase of the received text *"and sitteth on the right hand of* **God** *the Father* **Almighty,"**

[64] McGiffert, p. 189.

[65] See, however, Oehler, p. 55; McGiffert, 192; Zetschwitz, *System der Katechetik* II, 1, 119 ff.; Harnack, R. E. I, 755.

the two words which we have put in bold type were not in the Old Roman Symbol. We interpret the change in connection with what we said in the first article.

**Article III.** The word *"Catholic"* in the sentence, *"I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,"* is an addition of the *textus receptus* (first met in the Creed about 450 in Southern Gaul), but it was used already by Ignatius (d. 110).[66] Luther, in his German Catechism, substituted for "Catholic" the word "Christian", because of the perversion of meaning the old term has experienced in the church of Rome. Dr. W. Walther remarks: "He thus reproduced the exact original meaning of the term. Wherever Christians are to be found, so far extends the Church."[67] This was indeed the meaning of the term "Catholic" as used by Ignatius and the early Christians. It concurs also with the meaning of the term "Church" (ἐκκλήσια) in the N. T., which Luther always translated with "congregation" *(Gemeinde)*.[68]

How are we to take the words *"communion of saints"*, also an addition of the *textus receptus* and not

---

[66] *Ad Smyrnaeos*, chap. 8; also in *Martyr. Polyc.* 8. As to the meaning associated with this term cf. Seeberg, History of Doctrines, (Engl. ed.) I, 66; *Dogmengeschichte* (2nd ed.) I, 184 ff., 509 ff; McGiffert, 198 ff.; W. Walther, in Laible, p. 177. But Walther is right when he says: "Our acceptance of the term 'Catholic', as a designation of the Church, does not depend upon the understanding of that term in South Gaul in the fifth century. On the contrary, the question for us is: What did the early Christians originally mean to express by the word?" (p. 177). This remark of Walther is very important and should not be lost sight of in fixing the value of the Apostles' Creed for the Church of to-day. Compare this remark with our note below.

[67] Laible, ut supra, p. 178; cf. the foot note on p. 178.

[68] Walther remarks: "Luther lamented that this 'blind, indistinct word' has been used in the Creed. He would rather have read instead: 'I believe that there is a Christian, holy people.' In the exposition of Cyril of Jerusalem we read of the Church: 'It is called Catholic on account of being through the whole world from one end to the other.'" (*Cat.* 18, 23).

contained in the Roman Symbol? It is a phrase that was not known in the Eastern Creeds, and it first appears as a part of the Creed in the text ascribed to Nicetus of Aquileja, perhaps about the beginning of the fifth century,[69] who, in employing it, thought of our communion with the glorified saints in heaven (Heb. 12: 23),[70] but Luther, following the oft-mentioned sermons attached to the works of Augustine, by his translation, gave to these words the wider meaning of the union of saints as the concrete association of believers.[71] Both thoughts are Scriptural and Apostolic.

The second-to-the-last phrase, *"the resurrection of the flesh,"* though identical in the Roman form and in the received text, cannot be dismissed without a few explanatory remarks, because it has been an object of discussion during the centuries. In both forms we have "resurrection of the *flesh*" (Latin *carnis*, Greek σαρκός). In the German we still have (after Luther) this same expression: Auferstehung des *Fleisches*. Our English version, which dates from the time of Henry VIII.,[72] has "resurrection of the *body*". The terminology of Paul in 1 Cor. 15, favors the use of the term "body". But the early Church, struggling against Marcion and the Gnostics (Tert., *De carne Christi*, chap. 1 and *De resurrectione carnis* and against Marcion, IV, 37; V. 7, 9 f.; also Irenaeus II, 29 f.; V. 1, 18; V. 2 f, 11 f., 31 f.) insisted upon employing the term "flesh."[73] McGiffert offers the following: "This insistence upon a fleshly

---

[69] Cf. Hahn p. 40; Kattenbusch I, 108 f.; McGiffert, 200.

[70] See footnote by Walther, in Laible, p. 178.

[71] Walther, p. 181 f. For a more detailed discussion see McGiffert, 200-4; cf. Schaff, p. 22, and Oehler, p. 55 f.

[72] Cf. McGiffert, p. 169.

[73] McGiffert (p. 167).

resurrection over against the denial of it was due not only to the feeling on the part of many Christians that the future life was impossible without a resurrection of the material body,[74] but also to the fear that the loss of the belief in the resurrection of the present flesh for judgment would lead to immorality and impurity (cf. e. g., 2 Clement 9; Hermas, *Sim.*, V. 7, 2; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* V. 7)." Yet while Luther retained the term "flesh" in the translation of this phrase of the Apostles' Creed he wrote in his Large Catechism p. 446 (60) as follows: "But the term *Auferstehung des Fleisches* (resurrection of the flesh) here employed is not according to good German idiom. For when we Germans hear the word *Fleisch* (flesh), we think no farther than the shambles. But in good German idiom we would say *Auferstehung des Leibs*, or *Leichnahms* (resurrection of the body). Yet it is not a matter of much moment if we only understand the words in their true sense." There is, however, an element of truth in employing the word "flesh", which was felt also by the Anglican Church when it offered the following form:[75] "I believe that on doomsday all the people of the world that ever was or ever shall be unto that day shall then arise in the selfsame flesh and body which they had while they lived on earth", and when in the English Prayer Book it retained the original form "the resurrection of the *flesh*."[76] The truth which also the Lutheran Church has never lost sight of is this: While in harmony with Paul we do not expect a fleshly

[74] Cf. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 2 seq.

[75] In the *Institution of a Christian Man*, commonly known as the Bishop's Book of 1537.

[76] In the second prayer book of Edward VI., 1552. The American edition simply refers to the Creed without quoting it.

body to be united with the soul in the world to come, yet a real connection between the future organ of the soul and man's present body, such as there is between germ and plant, should not be denied. Otherwise, there would be in no sense in a *"resurrection* of the body," as spoken of by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:44. It is in agreement with this observation that the Formula of Concord found it necessary to make the following statement: "In the article of resurrection, Scripture testifies that it is precisely the substance of this our flesh, but without sin, which will rise again, and that in eternal life we will have and retain precisely this soul, but without sin." What the Formula rejects is "that in eternal life we will not have body and soul of the presence essence, but another substance."[77]

The closing phrase *"and the life everlasting,"* which was not in the old Roman Symbol, must have been added in the *textus receptus* chiefly for the sake of completion. It was a fundamental doctrine of the Apostles.

**Note:** Harnack, at the close of his article on the Apostles' Creed in the *R. E.* (see Schaff-Herzog) announces as a canon, by which to be guided in the interpretation of this Creed, that in order to arrive at the meaning of each phrase we should investigate the theology of the age which formulated it and incorporated it into this Symbol; but that it must not be interpreted on the basis of New Testament conceptions. But believing as we do that the contents of this Creed are Apostolic there is something else that we need to remember. We shall express it with the following words of Prof. W. Walther:

[77] Cf. *Book of Concord,* p. 548 (46. 47). The Apologist Athenagoras, with many that have followed him (old philosophers, also Leibnitz in *Syst. Theol.,* Mayence 1820, p. 87; cf. Buechner's *Hand-Concordanz,* 20th ed., 1890, p. 87) taught that there is to each human soul a fundamental germ which does not dissolve into other bodies and out of which the new body will be developed. Cf. also Meusel, *Kirchl. Hand-Lexikon* I, 236 (1st ed.).

"It is maintained that we dare attach to the separate parts of the Creed no other sense than that in which they were understood at the time when they were adopted. Otherwise, 'it will be explained in a way contrary to the original sense, and thus misinterpreted'. It is certainly true that a scientific investigation of this memorial of ancient times requires an answer to the question: What was undestood by it in those days? But when it comes to the question whether we can yet employ this Symbol as *our* confession of faith, then it is only necessary to determine whether the separate clauses, rightly understood, really express the true faith. Those who framed this confession were not attempting to present their own subjective opinions, but 'the faith of the Apostles', and if they had at any time discovered that they understood any clause differently from the Apostles, they would not have stricken out the clause, but only surrendered their improper understanding of it."[78]

### 3. The Value of the Apostles' Creed.

**a. Positively:** "It is by far the best popular summary of the Christian faith ever made within so brief a space. It still surpasses all later Symbols for catechetical and liturgical purposes, especially as a profession of candidates for Baptism and church membership. . . . It is intelligible and edifying to a child, and fresh and rich to the profoundest Christian scholar, who, as he advances in age, delights to go back to primitive foundation and first principles."[79] It is beautifully explained by Luther with a wealth of thought and a simplicity, which can hardly be excelled. Luther said that he prayed it daily.

---

[78] Add to these very timely remarks what we quoted from Walther on the phrase "Catholic". We certainly cannot agree with McGiffert's summary on pp. 34-36. The chief value of the Creed he sees in the emphasis upon "the reality of Christ's humanity", upon His "real manhood" (against the docetic tendencies of the age of Gnosticism). Besides this, there is something more of great fundamental value in the Apostles' Creed, and Dr. McGiffert himself, in his masterful investigation, has furnished all the material with which to prove it.

[79] Schaff, *Creeds* I, 15.

**b. Negatively:** But this Creed can also be overestimated. We must quote Schaff once more: "At the same time it must be admitted that the very simplicity and brevity of this Creed, which so admirably adapts it for all classes of Christians and for public worship, make it insufficient as a regulator of public doctrine for a more advanced stage of theological knowledge."[80] This was overlooked by Syncretism (cf. Kurtz, Church History, § 159, 3). While it is correct to say that all which contradicts the Apostles' Creed is false yet we cannot reverse the statement and say: What is not expressly rejected by the Apostles' Creed is correct or at least indifferent. The Church has grown in the understanding of the Scriptures. A Creed, to be sufficient to-day, must contain statements on matters on which the phrases of the Apostles' Creed have received different interpretations by the various denominations of Christendom. To make the Apostles' Creed the basis on which to unite the denominations would be equal to compelling the grown and matured man again to return to the state of development of the child.[81]

**Note:** We would again call attention to what we wrote under I, 1, b, of theologians who looked upon the Apostles' Creed as a communication of Christ to his disciples. It was particularly the Danish theologian N. F. S. Grundtvig who became a standard bearer in this direction.[82] He "did not con-

---

[80] *Creeds* I, 16.

[81] See J. L. Neve, *The Augsburg Confession*, p. 32: "Why is the Apostles' Creed not enough" (Cf. VII, 5, b). From a standpoint of opposition to Syncretism, Abraham Calovius (1655) expressed himself against the Apostles' Creed as a sufficient Confession of the Church. Cf. Prof. N. Bonwetsch in Laible's book, p. 21; also the article on Apostolicum in Meusel's Hand-Lexikon I, 182.

[82] Even with a faction of the Lutheran Church in America. See S. P. Vig in J. L. Neve's *Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 2nd ed., p. 416.

sider the Holy Scriptures as the formal principle of the Christian Church, but set the Apostles' Creed above it — that, and not the Scripture, being the Word of God and the foundation of the Christian Church, connected, as it was and always has been, with Baptism, the door into the Christian Church" (Vig). He regarded the Apostles' Creed as Christ's oral word which He, during the forty days after His resurrection, had communicated, word for word, together with the formula of renunciation, to the disciples, and which was applied at the Baptism of the three thousand who were converted at the first Pentecost in Jerusalem.[83]

## II. THE NICENE CREED.

**Literature:** See **Koellner,** Symbolik, p. 28 ff. (regarding all literature up to 1837). For important works of old date, see **Schaff,** *Creeds,* I., p. 24. As to real sources it is to be remembered that there are no protocols of the Nicene Council of 325. Much material is to be gathered from the **Patrum Nicaenorum nomina,** etc., edited by Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz (Leipzig, 1898), or the corresponding English work, the **Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,** edited by A. Menzies and Ph. Schaff in 37 volumes (1885-1900). Chas. Scribner's. Other sources are contained in **C. J. Hefele,** *Conciliengeschichte* (Freib. 1873) I, pp. 376-431). The works of **Caspari** and **Hahn** (see under Apostles' Creed) are to be consulted. Among the more recent writings we mention **J. J. Lias,** *The Nicene Creed* (London, 2nd ed. 1910); the article on the Nicene Council of 325 in the *R. E.* by **C. A. Bernoulli.** Compare also the different works on Church History, Symbolics and History of Doctrines.

Of special interest is the literature on the Constantinopolitan Symbol. Here we have to consider the investigations of **P. Caspari** (cf. under Apostles' Creed). Enumeration of special writings by **A. Harnack** in *R. E.* XI, p. 12. Very important is **Hort,** *Two Dissertations,* particularly the second *"On the CPan Creed and Other Eastern Creeds of the fourth century",* (Cambridge, 1876); very searching is also the just men-

[83] Meusel, *ut supra,* III, p. 97.

tioned article of **Harnack** in *R. E.* XI, 12-28 on *Konstantinopolitanisches Symbol* (cf. Schaff-Herzog).

### A. THE OLD NICENE CREED.

**1. The Historical Occasion** for the formulation of the old Nicene Creed[84] was the rejection of Arianism at the first oecumenical council held 325, at Nicea in Bithynia, Asia Minor, which was attended very largely by Eastern bishops although the West was also represented.[85]

2. Concerning the **Sources for the Construction** of the Nicene Creed the following is to be emphasized:

a. The old Nicene Creed is, like the Apostles' Creed, a development out of the Rules of Faith, those Creeds which arose in different localities of the East, differing from each other, but **shaped by the Eastern mind,** and, like the Apostles' Creed, intended for the baptismal service as a confession of faith on the part of the catechumens.[86] These Creeds differed from those of the Western Church, which were brief, practical and

---

[84] Right here we want to call attention to the fact that what we are accustomed to name the "Nicene" Creed is not the Creed of which we are treating here; what we call the Nicene or Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed differs, as to form, considerably from the old Creed formulated at Nicea. Cf. below under B, 1.

[85] The Western Church was represented by five bishops, namely one for Italy, North Africa, Spain, Gaul and the province of the Danube each, cf. *R. E.* XIV, p. 11 (34). For the attendance by Eastern bishops, especially from Asia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Greece, Thrace, who could arrive by vessel, the place for the convention was well chosen. As to the number of bishops present the reports differ. Athanasius speaks of 318, Eusebius of 250.

[86] Cf. our quotations from Irenaeus, Tertullian and the reconstruction of Creeds by Kunze and Zahn in our chapter on the Apostles' Creed under I, 1, e and the literature there referred to. See especially in W. A. Curtis, *History of Creeds,* the Confessions of Irenaeus (p. 50), of Tertullian (p. 52), of Lucian of Antioch (p. 55), of Arius (p. 56), of Eusebius of Caesarea (p. 57), of Cyril of Jerusalem (p. 58), the Apostolic Constitutions (59).

stationary; Schaff rightly describes them as "more metaphysical, polemical, flexible, and adapting themselves to the exigencies of the Church in the maintenance of her faith in conflict with heretics".[87]

**b. The Creed of Caesarea Served as a Basis for the New Formula.** As proof for this is cited a letter of Bishop Eusebius to his congregation in Caesarea, in which he speaks of the Creed presented as *"our* Confession". If this should not be sufficient proof it is strengthened by a comparison of the form adopted at Nicea with the Creed of Caesarea.[88] Certain phrases of the Caesarean Creed, however, were omitted, because they were regarded as being too general and liable to abuse by the Arians and Sabellians; others were added as better expressing the orthodox position. Both the omissions and additions are very important for a correct understanding of the old Nicene Creed. **The omissions** are as follows: (1) Christ, "the Word of God"[89] (in place of it: "the Son of God, begotten of the Father"); (2) "first-born of all creation", in connection with the following phrase, "before all worlds begotten of the Father";[90] (3) "only begotten Son" (made more effective by "begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is, of one

---

[87] *Creeds* I. p. 25.

[88] See the Creed in Curtis, *ut supra* and in Hahn (3rd ed.) p. 123.

[89] A characteristic feature of Athanasianism was that it left out of consideration the old Logos-speculation and that it centered its interest upon Christ as the Redeemer, defining His nature "in accordance with the logical requirements of His redeeming work". Seeberg, *Hist. of Doctr.* (Engl. ed.) I, p. 206.

[90] Against Arius who taught that Christ was in line with the creatures of God, with the difference only that His creation took place "before all ages" (cf. the Creed of Arius, in Curtis, p. 56), thus establishing a difference in essence between Father and Son, so that He was not God in the full sense of the word (cf. Seeberg, Engl., I, 243; Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte*, I, 212 f.; G. P. Fisher, *Hist. of Doctr.*, 134).

substance with the Father, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God"). **The additions** to the Caesarean Creed were these: (1) "that is, of the being (or substance, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας) of the Father"[91]; (2) "begotten, not made"; (3) "of one substance with the Father".[92] Finally there were added to the new Creed the famous **damnatory clauses** which read as follows: "But for those who say that there was a time when He was not, and that before He was begotten He was not, and that He came into being from things that were not, or who affirm that the Son of God is of a different subsistence or essence, or created subject to change or alteration, them the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes."[93]

(On the omissions and the additions and all changes, see Harnack, *R. E.*, XI, p. 17; cf. Bernoulli, *R. E.*, XIV, 14; also Curtis, *ut supra*).

**3. The Character of the old Nicene Creed in General.** We must ask you to read again what we said under 2, a, of the **speculative tendency** of the Eastern Creeds. This characteristic was unavoidably heightened in the Creed formulated at Nicea. The fact is that it

---

[91] Athanasius taught that the relationship between the Father and the Son is like that between a fountain and a stream that gushes from it. Seeberg, I, 209.

[92] The Son is *other-natured* (ἑτεροούσιος) as compared with created beings, but he is same-natured (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father. If "same-natured" with the Father, although in person different from Him, then the Son cannot have been created, but must have been generated. And if the Father has always been the Father — which is necessary, because no change in the divinity can be admitted — then it must have been a generation from eternity. (*De Decretis Synodi Nicaenae*, 23, 12).

[93] There are some more modifications of the Caesarean Creed, but they are, as Harnack expresses it, only a mild redaction without doctrinal significance, for the purpose of approaching the credal forms of Antioch and Jerusalem. See the reprints of these Creeds in Curtis' very helpful tabulated comparison, p. 71; in Hahn, The Antiochian Symbols §§ 130 ff., the Symbol of Jerusalem § 124.

was not intended for a Baptismal Confession, but was created chiefly for the purpose of representing a **Christological Rule of Faith.** The third article closed abruptly with the words: "And in the Holy Spirit." It was not adapted for the Baptismal Service. It was **theoretical and unliturgical.** The Biblical expressions of the Caesarean Creed, because they were not sufficiently definite and exclusive, had been substituted by *theological* phrases and terms not contained in the Scriptures. We should not say this with criticism as has become the fashion in wide circles;[94] it had to be done in order to meet the subterfuges of Arianism.[95] While the phrases and terms (such as the ὁμοούσιος) were not contained in the Scriptures yet the teaching was there, and, therefore the terms employed were Scriptural. The theological and polemical form was unavoidable under the circumstances. But this form necessarily affected the use of the Symbol for the practical purpose of the Church services. **The need was felt** to express the Nicene Faith also at the solemn act of Baptism and as a part of the Church's liturgy. *What*

---

[94] Cf. Harnack, *R. E.* XI, 15 f.; especially Bertullion, *R. E.* XIV, 15 and Curtis, *History of Creeds*, pp. 65-69.

[95] How well Arius understood to avoid coming into the light and how he labored to conceal his errors can be seen from the following Creed which he drew up (328) to be presented to Emperor Constantine with a view to his restoration:

"We believe in one God the Father Almighty:

"And in the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, who was begotten of Him before all ages, the Divine Logos, through whom all things were made, both those in the heavens and those on the earth; who came down and was made flesh, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended to the heavens, and shall come again to judge the living and the dead:

"And in the Holy Spirit; and in the resurrection of the flesh; and in the life of the world to come; and in a kingdom of heaven; and in one Catholic Church of God from the ends to the ends of the earth."

*could be done?* There was no thought, on the part of the followers of Athanasius, to change the Nicene Creed even in the least. This Creed, in the very words with which it was adopted at Nicea, represented their colours in the hard struggle with Arianism. To change it, even in the interest of orthodoxy, would have been regarded as dangerous in as much as they would have abandoned the safe basis of right for their existence.[96] Harnack says that *three ways could be chosen:* (1) The Nicene terms could be incorporated into the Baptismal Confessions of the different provinces; (2) the Nicene Creed could be modified for the purpose of leaving article two as it was, adding expressions on the Holy Spirit, and omitting the damnatory clauses; (3) The whole Creed could be used just as it was, notwithstanding its theological and polemical character. Each one of these three ways has been tried. But this takes us to a consideration of

**B. The Present Form of Our Nicene Creed.** It is called the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Harnack, in his searching article in the *R. E.* gives to it the title, "Constantinopolitan Symbol". Since the famous dissertation of Hort it has been called among scholars, for sake of convenience, the "CPanum".[97] In the Formula of Concord it is simply the Nicene Creed.

**1. How Does this Symbol Differ in Text from the Old Nicene Creed?** (1) In the first article we read: the maker of *"heaven and earth"*.[98] In article two we have (2) "the only begotten Son of God, begotten of

---

[96] Caspari I, 39, 41. Harnack, *R. E.*, XI, 16 (20).

[97] The title of his second dissertation began with the words: *"On the Cpan Creed,"* etc.

[98] As in the Creed of Jerusalem, of 348.

His Father before all worlds".[99] (3) In the following paragraphs the words which we here print in italics are additions as compared with the old Nicene Creed: "Who for us men and for our salvation came down *from heaven*[100] and was made flesh *of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,* and entered humanity; *and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate,* and suffered,[101] *and was buried,* and rose again the third day, *according to the Scriptures,* and ascended into heaven, *and sitteth on the right hand of the Father,*[102] and *shall come again with glory* to judge the living and the dead, *whose kingdom shall have no end.*[103] In the third article the Nicene Creed had only the words: "And in the Holy Spirit". The Constantinopolitan Creed continues: *"the Lord and Giver of life who proceedeth from the Father,*[104] *who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake through the prophets; in the Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism unto the remission of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead; and the life of the world to come".*[105] (4) A very conspicuous difference of the Constantinopolitan Creed from the old Nicene is the omission of the damnatory clauses as quoted under A, 2, at the close.

---

[99] These words take the place of "the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten; the words immediately following "that is, of one substance with the Father" (because expressed further below) are omitted. We must remember that the hard struggle with Arianism was now over, and there was no need for these repetitions for the sake of emphasis, which marred the diction of the Creed.

[100] "For our salvation" is here omitted.

[101] The Creed of Jerusalem has "crucified".

[102] This is also confessed in the Creed of Jerusalem.

[103] The last two phrases in italics are also in the Creed of Jerusalem.

[104] Later was added "and the son", *filioque,* cf. below, under 5.

[105] The third article reads in the Creed of Jerusalem (cf. 348): "And in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who spake in the Prophets;

**2. The Traditional View was that the Constantinopolitan Symbol** is essentially the Nicene Creed except that at the second oecumenical Council, convened 381 by Emperor Theodosius I. at Constantinople (for the purpose of rejecting the Pneumatomachians), it was enlarged by a Confession on the Holy Spirit. But, to add a few **critical remarks,** we have already seen (above, under B, 1) that in the text there is throughout a great difference between the old Nicene and this "Constantinopolitan" Symbol. Furthermore, the synod at Constantinople of 381 was no oecumenical synod. It was attended by Eastern bishops only, and even by them not generally. We also learn that at this synod the old Nicene Creed was simply confirmed. The same was done at the oecumenical synod in Ephesus, 431. The old Nicene Creed was there read and incorporated into the protocol. **It was at the oecumenical council at Chalcedon** (451) when, for the first time, the Constantinopolitan Symbol, our present so-called Nicene Creed, was spoken of and accepted as orthodox, together with the Nicene Creed. It was here read by Aëtius of Constantinople as the "Creed of the 150 fathers" that had been assembled in his city, 381. About 500 **it came into general use** theologically, and from about 530 on, it came to be used in the West for Baptism (cf. p. 43), while in the East it had been employed for that purpose already about 100 years earlier.[106]

**3. What is the Constantinopolitan Symbol?** The text of this Symbol it found almost literally in the

---

and in one Baptism of repentance unto remission of sins; and in one holy Catholic Church; and in the resurrection of the flesh; and in the life everlasting."

[106] Harnack, *ut supra,* p. 26.

*Ancoratus,* a writing of Bishop Epiphanius, of 373 or 374. This supports our present view that it was not fomulated at Constantinople in 381. But whence may Epiphanius have received it? The investigations of Caspari, but particularly of Hort, and the thorough re-examinations of Harnack[107] and Kattenbusch[108] have thrown a great deal of light upon the whole situation. The general agreement between scholars to-day is that our so-called Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed **is the Creed of the Church at Jerusalem** of 348[109] with an *incorporation of the most significant terms of the Nicene Creed.* The revision must have been made by the Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem, after the outbreak of the Pneumotomachian controversy (between 362 and 673). This would explain the knowledge of it by Epiphanius, 374. The Creed of Jerusalem, in accepting Nicene terms, simply did what other churches also did in order to fit their formula for the baptismal service (cf. our remark above, at the close of A, 3).

**4. How this Creed of Jerusalem Came to be Regarded by the Oecumenical Synod at Chalcedon (451) as the Constantinopolitan Symbol** cannot be explained with certainty.[110] But we know that Cyril was present at Constantinople, 381. We also know that his orthodoxy was questioned by some. Perhaps to clear himself of all suspicion he handed over this Creed, which he used in his Church. It was accepted and preserved among other documents pertaining to that synod,

---

[107] In the much quoted article in the *R. E.* XI, 12-28.

[108] Konfessionskunde, I, 252-286.

[109] Cf. our comparisons above, under B, 1.

[110] See the suggestions by Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte,* II, (2nd ed.), p. 132; Kurtz, *Church History,* 14th ed., § 61, 2; Engl. edition of 1888, p. 56, 2; Harnack, *ut supra,* p. 27.

and when in 451 the synod of Constantinople was recognized as oecumenical this document of Cyril was easily taken to be a Creed formulated then and there.

**5. A Change of Later Date** is the *filioque* in the third article, the statement namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father "and the Son". **Augustine's** doctrine of the Trinity, as expressed in the first part of the Athanasian Creed and accepted in the West, laid the emphasis upon the unity of the three persons of the Trinity. From the "being of one substance with the Father" in the Nicene Creed he followed the identity of the acts of Father and of Son and so arrived at the procession of the Spirit also from the Son. Here he differed from **John Damascus,** the later representative of Eastern theology, who described the Father as the source of the Godhead and the Spirit as proceeding from that source, only through the Son. John Damascus felt justified by the language of the first article of the Nicene Creed where the Father alone is called one God (εἷς Θεός), an expression which indeed is subject to misunderstanding.[112] The *filioque* was officially sanctioned and incorporated into the Constantinopolitan Symbol at the third council at Toledo (589), in order to express the rejection of Arianism which had been held by the Visigoths.[113]

---

[112] Cf. Kurtz, *Church History,* Engl. ed. of 1888, p. 50, 7. Compare the remark of W. Walther, p. 27. It is interesting to study in the works on History of Doctrines how this difference between Eastern and Western theology was **in the last analysis** the old controversy between monarchianism and subordinatianism, Augustine emphasizing the legitimate element in the type of monarchianism which was traditional in Rome, while John Damascus, with all caution, betrayed after all a remnant of the old Greek subordinationism.

[113] As to the effect of this change upon the relations between the Greek and the Latin churches Church History must be consulted.

**6. Authority of the Nicene Creed.**[114] We refer to the *Introduction* of this book (p. 16 ff.); also to the introductory remarks on the Oecumenical Symbols (p. 31). In the **Greek Church** the Nicene Creed (without the *filioque*) is, among the Oecumenical Symbols, the only one recognized, not only as a basis for theology, but also for liturgical and catechetical purposes. It occupies the same position there as does the Apostles' Creed in the other churches of Christendom. For a time, the Nicene Creed took the place of the Apostles' Creed even in the **Roman Church** (cf. p. 43 f.). It was formally adopted by the Council of Trent as the fundamental Symbol. The **Lutheran Church** regards it as fundamental for its theology, and, in America at least, names it especially in the act of inducting its theological professors into office. At special festivals of the Church Year also it is used as part of the liturgical service. The **Reformed Churches,** with the exception of the **Episcopal Church,** do not use it much in their services, yet they aim to base their theology upon it. We can say that the Nicene Creed is more strictly an Oecumenical Creed than the Apostles' and the Athanasian, which have never been fully naturalized in the Greek Catholic Church.[115]

## III. THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

**Literature:** See the works enumerated in **Schaff**, *Creeds of Christendom*, I, p. 29; also in **Koellner,** *Symbolik*, p. 53 f.;

---

[114] At the close of our discussion we return again to the name "Nicene" Creed. We are justified in using the term in the same way as we spoke of an "Apostles'" Creed. While this Symbol was not written by the Apostles yet its statements are Apostolic; so also is the Nicene Creed an expression of what had crystallized as the faith of the Church during the Trinitarian controversies of the Nicene age.

[115] Schaff, p. 27.

also by **Loofs** in *R. E.* (3rd ed.) vol. II, p. 177 (cf. the Schaff-Herzog). We mention in particular **C. A. Swainson,** *The Nicene and the Apostles' Creeds; together with the Creed of Athanasius.* London, 1875. **G. D. W. Ommanney,** *The Athanasian Creed,* London, 1875. By the same author, *Early History of the Athanasian Creed.* London 1880. **A. E. Burn,** *The Athanasian Creed and its early commentaries.* Cambridge, 1896. In our treatise special use has been made of §§ 9 and 10 on the *Creed of Chalcedon, and the Athanasian Creed* in **Schaff's** Creeds of Christendom, (vol. I, pp. 29-42), as also of **Koellner** and of the articles in the *Realencyclopaedie* (*R. E.*) and in **Meusel's** *Kirchliches Handlexikon.*

This third among the Oecumenical Creeds, generally called the Athanasian Creed, is known in the theological world also under the name **"Symbolum Quicunque".** It begins with the words: *"Quicunque vult salvus esse,"* etc.; English: "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith."[116]

**1. The Authorship** of this Symbol has been ascribed to the Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria, but it is **impossible** that he could have written it: (1) None of the contemporaries of Athanasius speak of him as the author of this Creed, not even his eulogists, for instance, Gregory of Nazianzen; (2) the oecumenical councils of Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451), say nothing of this Creed although it deals with the doctrinal matters which were settled by these councils (Athanasius died 373); (3) Athanasius himself was positively opposed to making a new Creed, in addition to the Nicene.[117] (4) Our Creed was written in

[116] Cf. Book of Concord, English by Dr. H. E. Jacobs, in "People's Edition", p. 26; Latin in J. T. Mueller, *Symbolische Buecher der ev.-luth. Kirche.* C. Bertelsmann, Guetersloh.

[117] *Ep. ad Antioch,* I, 2, p. 772. At the third and the fourth oecumenical councils all further creed making was forbidden,

Latin and not in Greek; Athanasius wrote in Greek. The Greek texts of the Creed are unskilled translations. (5) It does not contain the homoousios (the favored term of Athanasius), but, on the other hand, it teaches the procession of the Holy Spirit from Father *and Son (filioque),* a doctrine that had not attracted the attention of Athanasius. (6) The document makes its first appearance in the Latin parts of the Church, in Gaul, North Africa and Spain, while the Greeks did not know it until the eleventh century. (7) Not before the second half of the seventh century was it attributed to Athanasius (namely by the Council of Autuon, 661).

As **possible composers** quite a number of names have been mentioned; above others that of Bishop *Vigilius of Tapsus* (North Africa) who lived at the time of the Eutychean controversies, was very influential, and wrote under the name of Athanasius, his style resembling that of our Creed. Other names have been mentioned with less probability: Hilary of Arles (420-31), Vincentius Lirinensis (450), Venantius Fortunatus (570), Pope Anastasius (398), Paulinus of Aquileja (804).

**2. The Contents of the Creed in Outline:**

a. It begins with a **prologue** which is contained in paragraphs 1 and 2. Here *damnation* is pronounced upon him who does not believe in the doctrine to be recited.[118]

b. Then follows in §§ 3 to 26 the **First Part,** which contains a clear and precise summary of the doctrine of the *Trinity.* § 26 is a repetition of the prologue, declaring that this doctrine of the Trinity must be believed by him who expects to be saved.

[118] Note our interpretation of these damnatory clauses below under 6.

c. The Second Part (§§ 27 to 40) gives us a summary of the Chalcedonian *Christology*. It begins in §§ 27 to 28 with a declaration that for eternal salvation the belief of this dogma is necessary.

d. An **epilogue** at the close (§ 40) again says: "This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved."

### 3. Description of the Contents in Part One (§§ 3 to 25).

**a. In general:** We have here a doctrine of the Trinity more definite and developed than in the Nicene and the Apostles' Creed. These gave no formulated doctrine of this dogma, in the sense of an oecumenic Trinity; but they taught the doctrine only indirectly by teaching the Deity also of Son and Holy Spirit (immanent Trinity). The Athanasian Creed, in its first part, represents the doctrine of the Trinity as it was developed and completed, for the West, by Augustine. We have here put into a formula and guarded against any evasion the doctrine of the one divine Being or Essence and the Tri-personality of Father, Son and Spirit.

b. More **in particular,** we can describe this theology by calling attention to the following points:

**First:** Any kind of *subordination* of the Son to the Father, and of the Holy Spirit to both is excluded. The Godhead of the three Persons *"is all one"*. All have equal glory, majesty. They are uncreate, incomprehensible, almighty; they are all one God. None is before or after the other; none is greater or less than the other. They are coeternal and coequal.

**Second:** Regarding the term *persona*, Schaff remarks that it "is taken neither in the old sense of a mere personation or form of manifestation (*πρόσωπον*,

face mask), nor in the modern sense of an independent, separate being or individual, but in a sense which lies between these two conceptions, and thus avoids Sabellianism on the one hand, and Tritheism on the other. The divine persons are in one another, and form a perpetual intercommunication and motion within the divine essence. Each person has all the divine attributes which are inherent in the divine essence, but each has also a characteristic individuality of property, which is peculiar to the person, and cannot be communicated; the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Holy Ghost is proceeding.[119]

**4. Description of the Contents in Part Two (§§ 27 to 39).** The Nicene Creed dealt with the *pre-existence* of Christ and in this respect secured His divinity; the Athanasian Creed, in its second part, deals with the *post-existence* of Christ, with "the problems relating not to the eternal, but to the incarnate life and personality of the Savior of men".[120] The Athanasian Creed, in this part, is simply a symbolic **expression of the Chalcedonian Christology,** the orthodox doctrine concerning the person of Christ, as it was settled by the oecumenical councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) and set forth in the famous letter of Pope Leo the Great to Flavian after the so-called Council of Robbers, in 449. The so-called "Creed of Chalcedon" was preceded, at Chalcedon (451), by a re-affirmation of the Nicene and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (cf. p. 60). We can define the relation between the Athanasian Creed and the Creed of Chalcedon by saying

[119] Schaff, *Creeds*, p. 38. Compare our discussion of Article one of the Augsburg Confession, under IV, B, I.

[120] W. A. Curtis, *History of Creeds*, p. 76.

that the former was written on the basis of the latter, and that the Athanasian Creed is shorter.

**Note:** Dr. Schaff, in an abridgement of materials which he had presented in his Church History, has succeeded, in his Creeds of Christendom (pp. 30-34, 39), in expressing the leading thoughts with such admirable clearness that we could not resist the temptation of offering that presentation at this place. We have abridged considerably and added a few expressions for further lucidity and in some cases we have re-cast the material. Compare constantly Kurtz, *Church History* § 52:1-4.

## THE CHALCEDONIAN CHRISTOLOGY.

**a. A True Incarnation.** It was neither a conversion or transmutation of God into man, nor a conversion of man into God, and a consequent absorption of the one, or a confusion (*κρᾶσις, σύγχυσις*) of the two; nor, on the other hand, a mere indwelling (*ενοίκησις, inhabitatio)* of the one in the other, nor an outward, transitory connection (*συνάφεια, conjunctio*) of the two factors, but an actual and abiding union of the two in one personal life.

**b. The Distinction Between Nature and Person.** The Logos assumed not a human person (else we would have two persons, a divine and a human), but human nature which is common to us all; and hence he redeemed not a peculiar man, but all men as partakers of the same nature.

**c. The God-man as the Result of the Incarnation.** Christ is not a (Nestorian) *double* Being, with two persons, nor a compound (mono-physite) middle being, a *tertium quid*, neither Divine nor human; but He is one person both Divine and human; His humanity including even the human soul (against Apollinarius),

**d. The Duality of the Natures.** Against Eutychianism is maintained the distinction of nature even after the act of incarnation, without confusion or conversion (ἀσυγχύτως, inconfused and ἀτρέπτως, immutabiliter); and on the other hand the assertion was made against Nestorianism that between the two natures there was no division or separation (ἀδιαιρέτως, *indivise* and ἀχωρίστως, *inseparabiliter*), so that the Divine will ever remains Divine, and the human ever human, and yet the two have continually one common life, and interpenetrate each other, like the persons of the Trinity (περιχώρησις, *permeatio*).

**e. The Unity of the Person** (ἕνωσις ὑποστατική, *unio hypostatica*, later *unio personalis*). The union of the divine and human nature in the one person of Christ is a permanent state resulting from the incarnation, and is a real, supernatural, personal, and inseparable union — in distinction from the essential absorption or confusion, or from a mere moral union, or from a mystical union such as holds between the believer and Christ. The two natures constitute but one personal life, and yet remain distinct. Leo the Great then argued as Lutheran theology did later in the interest of the *unio personalis:* "The Son of man came down from heaven" (John 3:16), while yet the Son of God took flesh from the Virgin; and on the other hand: "They crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Cor. 2:8), while yet He suffered, not in His Godhead which cannot suffer, but in the weakness of His human nature. The self-consciousness of Christ is never divided; His power consists in such a union of the human and the divine natures, that the divine nature is the seat of self-consciousness, and pervades and animates the human.

**f. The Whole work of Christ is to be attributed to His Person,** and not to the one or to the other nature exclusively. The person is the acting subject, the nature is the organ or medium. It is the one Divine-human person of Christ that wrought miracles by virtue of His Divine nature, and that suffered through the sensorium of His human nature. The infinite merit attaches to His work because His humanity is in personal union with His Divinity.

**g. The Enhypostasia of the Human nature.** To avoid the doctrine of a double personality the position was taken that Christ's human nature had no independent personality of its own, but that His Divinity which took the initiative in the act of incarnation is the root and basis of His personality.[121]

**5. Characterizing the Athanasian Creed,** we may say: The whole presentation, in both parts of the Creed, endeavors, with deep speculation and logical deduction, to *express the leading Biblical truths concerning Trinity and Incarnation,* and while both of these doctrines contain impenetrable mysteries and cannot be exhausted yet what this Creed states concerning them represents the doctrinal experience of the Christian Church of the first five centuries. It does not aim at solving the mysteries involved, but it indicates the essential elements of truth and the boundary lines of error. As Schaff says, it *avoids the Scylla as well as the Charybdis:* In the doctrine of the Trinity it avoids Tritheism on the one hand, and Sabellianism on the

---

[121] This doctrine of the personality of the human nature of Christ was afterwards more fully developed by John of Damascus and by the Lutheran Scholastics of the 17th century. The Greeks called this doctrine **an***hypostasia* but the Lutherans preferred **en***hypostasia.* Comp. Jacobs' Summary of Christian Faith, p. 127. Cf. p. 129 f.

other; in the doctrine of Incarnation it takes the position mid-way between Nestorian dualism and Eutychian monophysitism. Creeds are like trophies brought out of a battle, and there goes particularly through the Athanasian Creed, in its artificial arrangement and rhythmic form, *a note of triumph.* It has been called "a musical Creed or a dogmatic psalm" and "a triumphant pæan of the orthodox faith". The Athanasian Creed, however, is among the Oecumenical Symbols *the most theological* in character. In this, it resembles the Formula of Concord among the particular Symbols of the Lutheran Church.

**6. The Damnatory Clauses.** *How should we take these clauses* which have been the cause of stumbling for many? They read as follows: "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith,[122] which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Then in the middle of the text: "He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity. Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ." Finally at the close: "This is the Catholic (true Christian) faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved." For a clarification of view we offer the following thoughts for consideration:

**First:** We have damnatory or rejectory clauses *also in the Augsburg Confession,* namely in Articles I, II, V, VIII, IX, XII, XIII, XVI, XVII, XVIII. They *differ,* however, from those in the Athanasian Creed in this, that they do not say that he who fails to be ortho-

[122] The German translation has in place of "Catholic" the words "true Christian".

dox in a given article cannot be saved. The *Formula of Concord,* too, insists upon the necessity of not only stating the Scriptural doctrine, but also of *rejecting* the doctrines which have been opposed. It is interesting in this connection, to read these words of the Formula: "It is in no way our design and purpose to condemn those men who err from a certain simplicity of mind, and nevertheless are not blasphemers against the truth of the heavenly doctrine, much less, indeed, entire churches, which are either under the Roman Empire, or the German nation, or elsewhere."

**Second:** Historically, it must not be left out of consideration that the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian Creed were expressed *in an age* when heresy was punishable with death;[123] at a time also when a real personal conviction on the basis of personal investigation was not considered necessary, but when the individual was expected to give unqualified assent to the publicly promulgated Creed as a law of the empire.

**Third:** But, on the other hand, it would have been against all sound reason for the composer of the Athanasian Creed if he should have meant that a *full knowledge of and assent to* the logical statements of Trinity and Incarnation, in every particular, is for every individual a condition of his salvation. There is *a difference* between not fully understanding a fundamental doctrine, and consciously rejecting, or even blaspheming it. Also, of a theologian more can and must be expected than of a layman. God alone searches the hearts and determines the responsibility.

**Fourth:** All considered, there is a *confessional truth* in the damnatory and rejectory phrases of our

[123] See Introduction to this book, p. 16.

Creeds. The object of faith in the formulations which it has received in the doctrinal experience of the Church *(fides quae creditur)* is not altogether a matter of indifference, especially not for the teachers of the Church. John Gerhard said: "He who ignores the mystery of the Trinity does not know God," i. e., he ignores the definition of God as delivered to us in the Scriptures.[124]

**7. Attitude of the Churches to the Athanasian Creed.**

**a. The Greek Catholic Church** accepts this Creed (without the *filioque)* as orthodox in teaching and helpful for private use, but it gives to it no place in the services of the Church.

**b. The Roman Catholic Church** has recognized it as a Symbol, especially since Pope Gregory IX, 1233, sent it to Constantinople as the basis for a proposed union. It is used in the services chiefly during Advent and Lent.

**c. The Lutheran Church** placed it as third Oecumenical Symbol in the Book of Concord, but has never used it for liturgical purposes. **Luther** regarded it so highly that he wrote: "It has been composed in such a way that I do not know whether anything more important and glorious has been written since the time of the Apostles."[125]

---

[124] It was this which the old Lutheran dogmaticians had in mind when they said: *Mysterium trinitatis omnibus salvandis scitu et creditu necessarium,* by which they meant that the belief in God, independent of Christ and the Spirit is not sufficient for salvation. (See A. v. Oettingen, *Dogmatik,* II, 1, p. 213.

[125] So he said in his little writing on the Athanasian Creed, the Apostles' Creed and the *Te Deum,* of 1538: *Die Symbola oder Bekenntnis des Glaubens Christi, in der Kirche eintraechtiglich gebraucht.* Erlangen Edition, XXIII, p. 251 ff.

d. Among the **Reformed Churches,** some of which have accepted this Creed,[126] it is especially the **Episcopal Church** that has been in controversy with regard to the use of it. In the Church of England it was the custom to sing or recite the Athanasian Creed on certain festival days, but since 1867, after an appointed royal commission, with a majority opposed to the use of this Creed, had brought in an adverse report, the practice is divided. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, by an act of 1786, has omitted it from recognition.[127] It is superfluous to say that the various denominations among the Reformed Churches which are indifferent or opposed to credal obligations have no appreciation of the Athanasian Creed.

[126] The Thirty-nine Articles, the Second Helvetic, the Belgic and the Bohemian Confessions.

[127] Schaff, *Creeds,* p. 41; Curtis, *History of Creeds,* p. 82.

# THE PARTICULAR SYMBOLS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

## IV. THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

### A. Historical Introduction.

**Literature:** *De Wette, M. Luthers Briefe.* Berlin, 1825-56. **E. L. Enders,** *M. Luthers Briefwechsel.* Frankfurt, 1884 ff. **Corpus Reformatorum,** Leipzig, 1839 ff. **K. E. Foerstemann,** *Urkundenbuch* zur Geschichte des Reichstages zu Augsburg. Halle, 1833-35. **E. W. Schirrmacher,** *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Religionsgespraechs zu Marburg und des Reichstages zu Augsburg,* 1530. Gotha, 1876. **J. Koestlin,** *Martin Luther* (5th edition by G. Kawerau), 2 vols. Berlin, 1903. **G. G. Weber,** *Kritische Geschichte der Augsb. Confession.* Frankfurt, 1782. **O. Zoeckler,** *Die Augsburgische Confession.* Frankfurt, 1870. **G. L. Plitt,** *Einleitung in die Augustana.* Erlangen, 1867. **E. Koellner,** *Symbolik.* Hamburg, 1837. **R. Calinich,** *Luther und die Augsb. Konfession.* Leipzig, 1861. **P. Tschackert,** *Die unveraenderte Augsburgische Konfession,* deutsch und lateinisch nach den besten Handschriften aus dem Besitze der Unterzeichner. Leipzig, 1901. **Th. Kolde,** *die aelteste Redaktion* der Augsburger Konfession, etc. Guetersloh, 1906. Of the same Author, *Historische Einleitung* in die Symbolischen Buecher (Introduction to J. T. Mueller's 10th edition of the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, in German and Latin). Guetersloh, 1907. **J. W. Richard,** The *Confessional History* of the Lutheran Church. Philadelphia, 1909. **T. E. Schmauk** and **C. T. Benze,** The *Confessional Principle* and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church. Philadelphia, 1911. **J. L. Neve,** *The Augsburg Confession,* A Brief Review of its History and an Interpretation of its Doctrinal Articles, with Introductory Discussions on Confessional Questions, Philadelphia, 1914. There is to appear, by the same author, in the near future, in German, a *"Handbuch zum Studium der Augs-*

*burgischen Konfession"*, a work on which the following Historical Introduction largely rests. See also, by the same author the following pamphlets: *Die Augsburgische Konfession in kurzem Ueberblick* (Wartb. Publ. House, Chicago); *Are we Justified in Distinguishing Between an Altered and an Unaltered Augustana* as the Confession of the Lutheran Church (German Literary Board, Burlington, Ia., a reprint from Luth. Church Review.)

**1. The Author of the Augsburg Confession.** It is Philip Melanchthon, the co-laborer of Luther. He has worded and shaped the Confession from beginning to end. Luther was not in a position to co-operate, as he was not present at the Augsburg diet (1530), but had to remain at Coburg, near Augsburg. Yet the fact is that Melanchthon was all the time building with **Luther's thought-material.** Melanchthon composed the Confession on the basis of sources (Torgau, Schwabach, Marburg articles), and in the writing of these, Luther had a prominent part. It is misleading to say that in the Augsburg Confession and in the Apology, we have Melanchthon's theology in opposition to the theology of Luther as expressed in the Catechism and in the Smalcald Articles. At Augsburg in 1530, Melanchthon was most careful in stating what was the faith of Luther also. The differences between what later has been called "Melanchthonianism" and genuine Lutheranism were neither felt nor discussed at the time of the Augsburg diet.

As to **form,** however, it must be admitted that Luther would not have been able to make the doctrinal statements with the moderation that characterizes this document. Here the remarkable ability of Melanchthon as a master in giving form to creeds has stamped the Confession with his individuality.

**Note:** When Luther at Coburg saw the first draft of the Confession which was sent to him, he wrote that he would not have been able to express himself so mildly, (*"denn ich so sanft und leise nicht treten kann*).[128]

**2. The Contents.** For a description of the contents of the Augsburg Confession with particular reference to a classification of its articles and the theology presented therein, see under division B the discussion preceding Article I.

### 3. Why Did Our Confessors at Augsburg First Plan to Present Articles Concerning Abuses Only?

They did not want to admit that they had in any way deviated from the Christian Catholic Church. By "Catholic" Church they understood the Church of the first five centuries, the Church of the Oecumenical Creeds, the Church of the leading fathers from Athanasius (325) up to about Leo the Great (461) and perhaps to Gregory the Great (731). They took the position that errors in doctrine which had crept in later and which never had been codified in an official Creed[129] should not claim to be Christian Catholic doctrine. So then, distinguishing between the *Christian Catholic* and the *Roman Catholic* Church,[130] their plan, in giving an account before the Emperor, was to proceed on the ground that they were in entire harmony with the teach-

---

[128] Letters of Luther in De Wette IV, 17.

[129] For instance, the semi-pelagianism of the mediaeval age which was sanctioned by the condemnation of Gottschalk (853) and by the teaching of men like Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas.

[130] Cf. our discussion of the term "Catholic" under "Apostles' Creed", p. 46.

ing of the early Church.[131] So it came that Melanchthon began his work with writing on what we now have as the second part of the Confession, on the abuses. It has always been assumed that he used for this work the Torgau Articles".

4. What do we know of **the Torgau Articles** as Source for the Second Part of the Confession?

*It must be admitted that our Augustana scholars know of no document that bears the title: Torgau Articles.* And yet they were always sure that there must be articles on the abuses in the Church, which were composed by the Wittenberg reformers before they left for Augsburg. For we know that Elector John of Saxony, in order to be prepared at Augsburg, ordered that his theologians (Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen) should write articles on the existing Church differences, and hand these to him on March 20th, at Torgau, where he was residing.[132] And in 1830 Foerstemann found in the archives of Weimar six essays, one of which *is now believed to be the Torgau Articles.* A comparison of these with those of part two of the Confession shows that Melanchthon has made considerable use of them.[133] *Who may have been the author of*

---

[131] That there was much self-deception in the supposition that the early church Fathers, such as Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine and Leo the Great were in entire harmony with the doctrinal positions of our reformers is not to be wondered at when we remember that church history at the time of Melanchthon was yet in its swaddling clothes. Melanchthon later found that he had been mistaken at least with respect to the conceptions on the Lord's Supper. Seeberg, History of Doctrines, II, 350; *Corp. Ref.* II, 217.

[132] Foerstemann, *Urkundenbuch* I, 42-44.

[133] The document is reprinted in Foerstemann's *Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 68-84; also in Th. Kolde, *Augsburg Konf.* (1896), and translated into English in H. E. Jacobs' Book of Concord II, 75-86. On the history, compare also Koestlin-Kawerau, *Martin Luther* II, 192; J. W. Richard, *Conf. History,* p. 30 ff.

*these articles?* It cannot have been Luther, because he is spoken of in the document. Melanchthon must have had the chief part in the composition; Kolde and Tschackert believe that Luther aided him.[134]

### 5. What Occurred to Convince the Lutherans that also Articles on Doctrine Should be Presented?

While they were awaiting the arrival of the Emperor at Augsburg they were informed that Dr. Eck had just published a pamphlet containing 404 articles against those that were disturbing the peace of the Church. Here Luther and Melanchthon were put in the same class with Zwingli, Carlstadt and the Anabaptists, such as Hubmeier and Denk. In every article the heretic of the ancient Church was mentioned, that covered the new heresy. A copy of this pamphlet came into the hands of Melanchthon who was convinced that the document to be presented at the diet should not only be an "Apology" for the elimination of some ceremonies and abuses, but a *"Confession"* as well.[135] He immediately began to write on what we now have in the first twenty-one articles.

### 6. Sources that Melanchthon must have used for the Composition of the First (Doctrinal) Part of the Augsburg Confession.

a. There are **Two Documents** that were in existence before the Augsburg Confession was written and which deal more or less with subjects that are discussed

---

[134] Kolde, *Hist. Einl.*, p. V; *Aelteste Redaktion*, p. 74; Tschackert, *Unveraenderte Ausgb. Conf.*, p. 5.

[135] Up to this time (May 4th) Melanchthon, in letters to Luther, had called it an "Apology" (*Corp. Ref.* II, 39), but from now on he calls it a "Confession" (II, 45).

in part one of the Augustana: the Schwabach Articles and the Marburg Articles.[136] Of these the Schwabach Articles are the more important and have been more used by Melanchthon than the Marburg Articles. The former are also more outspoken on matters of difference between Luther and Zwingli than are the articles agreed upon at Marburg.

b. Up to a few years ago it was believed that the **Schwabach Articles** had come into existence *after* the Marburg Articles, which we know were written by Luther at the close of the Marburg Colloquy (Oct. 2nd and 3rd, 1529) for the purpose of codifying agreement and disagreement between the Lutherans and Zwinglians. The traditional view has been that Luther, on his way back from Marburg, wrote the Schwabach Articles to be submitted at a convention to be held in Schwabach as a basis of agreement between the Lutheran princes (the Electors of Saxony and Margrave of Brandenburg) and the South German cities. And it was thought that the more pointed character of these articles, as compared with those of Marburg, is an indication that Luther regretted his very mild statements in the Marburg Articles, and now took occasion to express himself in stronger terms, not only on the Lord's Supper, but also concerning Christology and the doctrine of original sin.[137] But lately Prof. von Schubert, Heidelberg (Germany) after a new investigation of documents in the Weimar, Ansbach, Nuremberg, and Marburg archives has proved that these so-called Schwabach Articles were written already in July or Au-

[136] Both documents are printed in English in Dr. Jacobs' Book of Concord, not the People's Edition.

[137] See Moeller-Kawerau, *Church History* III, p. 103 (1907); Th. Kolde, in Hauck's *Realencyclopaedie* (*R. E.*), vol. XVIII, 2.

gust by the Wittenberg theologians, Melanchthon being the chief author, but Luther co-operating.[138] In these Schwabach Articles we have the first attempt to create a common Confession of German Protestantism, on the basis of which a political agreement could be effected between Saxony and Brandenburg on the one hand, and the South German cities on the other. The negotiations did not take place, however, until October 16th at Schwabach, and they did not accomplish the much desired union. The South German cities, being under the influence of Zwingli, insisted upon the modification of the statement concerning the Lord's Supper. To this the Elector of Saxony and Margrave of Brandenburg could not agree "for conscience sake".[139] So the plan of uniting German Protestantism, in order that it might be able to show a solid front against the political force of Romanism, failed. Nevertheless, these Schwabach Articles had their value: they served Melanchthon as a chief source for the construction of the first part of the Augsburg Confession. By these articles and their wording he would always know on which points he was in full agreement with Luther.

### 7. The Gradual Growth of the Confession during the Days at Augsburg.

a. As we have seen, the Elector of Saxony commissioned Melanchthon to do the work. Already at Coburg, where Luther remained, he began to write what we now call Part Two of the Confession. He was

[138] Prof. von Schubert first communicated the result of his investigations in a lecture, delivered before the Society for Reformation History in Cassel 1908, and then followed it with a very scholarly treatise in the August issue of the *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha 1908). Cf. J. L. Neve's article in *Lutheran Quarterly* (Gettysburg), April 1909.

[139] Von Schubert, p. 365.

especially concerned about a fitting **introduction** (*exordium*) in which the emperor was to be convinced that the Elector of Saxony had always been loyal to the empire and to the Catholic Church. At Augsburg Melanchthon rewrote this introduction.[140]

b. Soon Melanchthon had so far finished **"The First Draft"** of both parts of the Confession that on *May 11th* the Elector could send a special messenger to Luther at Coburg with the document. Luther was to look it over and feel free to write suggestions "on the margin."[141] On May 15th Luther's answer came back: "I have read over Magister Philip's Apology. It pleases me very well, and I know of nothing therein to be improved or changed; nor would it become me, for I cannot move so gently. Christ, our Lord, grant that it may bring much and great fruit as we hope and pray."[142]

c. Melanchthon continued to improve the text of the Confession up to the day of the public reading, June 25th, so that soon this text was not any more the same as that of May 11th. A much discussed question has been this: *Was Luther kept informed on the further changes made in the text?* It is now generally admitted that Luther never saw any other text of the Augsburg Confession until after the public reading had taken place, when again a copy was sent him. *This proves* that Luther had no influence on shaping the form of the Confession, and that in this respect it is altogether a work of Melanchthon. *But it does not prove* that there was any intention of excluding contributions from

[140] *Corp. Ref.* II, 39. Later, we shall see why it had to be set aside and to give place to an introduction written by chancellor Dr. Brueck.

[141] *Corp. Ref.* II, 47.

[142] De Wette IV, 17.

Luther. Here Melanchthonian theologians (Heppe, Rueckert, Richard) have lost themselves in unwarranted conclusions. At the time there existed so complete a harmony between Luther and Melanchthon, theologically, that there was no need of constantly keeping Luther informed of every change that was made. Besides, the suspense in which the Lutherans lived during those days of waiting for the emperor to arrive was of such a nature that the historian has no difficulty in understanding why Luther did not receive a draft every few days.

d. But this question is of interest: **What did Luther see of the Confession?** How did that first draft of May 11th differ from the final form in which the Confession was read at the diet?

(1) To arrive at a conclusion let us note the following: The draft of May 11th, which Luther saw is not known to us. It has not been preserved. Yet a number of years ago (1905) there was discovered in the Nuremberg archives a copy of the Confession which shows what form it had on May 31st, that is twenty-five days before the public reading.[143]

(2) Now our argument is this: The draft of May 11th cannot have contained what even the redaction of May 31st did not yet have. So we can arrive —

---

[143] This copy was found by Dr. Carl Schornbaum. He invited Prof. Kolde-Erlangen, the foremost Augustana scholar, to examine the document, and Dr. Kolde soon recognized it to be a translation into German of the Latin text of the Confession as it was at the end of May and as it was handed to the Nuremberg representatives in order that they might confer with their government as to whether it was willing to make common cause with the Saxons. Cf. *Corp. Ref.* II, 78-83. A special value of the discovery consisted in this that it contained that often-mentioned introduction ("Exordium") of Melanchthon which had been lost. Dr. Kolde then published this text with a commentary under the title: *"Die aelteste uns bekannte Redaktion der Augsburgischen Konfession"* (1906).

at least to a certain extent — at an answer to the question *what Luther had not yet seen of the final form of the Confession.*

(3) Let us mention some of the things in which the redaction of May 31st differs from the final reading:

*First,* at that time the document had yet that long introduction of Melanchthon,[144] in which he labored to defend the course of the Elector of Saxony. It must be remembered that at this time it was the plan to write the Confession in the name of the Elector of Saxony only. Each of the Protestant Estates (Saxony, Brandenburg, Hessia, the South German cities, etc.) was to speak for itself. That this plan was finally abandoned, which at once did away with Melanchthon's introduction, shall be seen below under e.

*Second,* the order of articles was not quite the same. Our Art. IV on Justification had the fifth place, and Art. V had fourth place. Our Articles VII and VIII on the Church were one article. Article VIII was on Baptism, IX on the Lord's Supper, etc.

*Third,* not yet written, were Articles XX and XXI. Art. XXVII had been rewritten since May 11th,[145] but Melanchthon continued to change in this article.[146] Art. XXVIII underwent many changes since Luther saw it, and in its final reading it is considerably different even from the redaction of end of May.[147]

[144] Translated into English from Kolde in Schmauk and Benze, *Confessional Principle,* p. 179 ff.

[145] *Corp. Ref.* II, 60.

[146] Cf. Kolde, *Aelteste Redaktion,* p. 61.

[147] Kolde, pp. 26-31; pp. 63-67. P. Tschackert, *Ungeaenderte Augsburgische Konfession,* pp. 191. 225.

*Fourth,* of special interest are certain differences affecting the doctrinal substance of some of the articles. At the close of Art. II there was not yet the rejection of the "Pelagians and others." In our Art. V there were not yet the words that the Holy Ghost works faith "where and when it pleaseth God." In our Art. IV nothing was said of an imputed righteousness. In Art. VII there was not that twice-repeated "rightly" in the sentence "in which the Gospel is *rightly* taught and the Sacraments rightly administered". Our Art. IX offered no doctrine of Baptism, but just insisted, over against the Anabaptists, on infant Baptism. In Art. XVII on Christ's return to judgment the redaction of the end of May had a remark that was changed before the delivery of the Confession. It was the remark "that all deceased men shall be raised up with the same body in which they died".

These changes and many others, especially in Articles XXVII and XXVIII, show us how different the Confession in its final reading was from the form it had on May 31st and consequently also in the first draft of May 11th, which Luther saw.

**e. The Confessional document which Melanchthon had been preparing exclusively in the name of the Elector of Saxony becomes by agreement of the several Estates the common Confession of all the Lutherans at Augsburg.** How did that come about? The emperor was approaching and was soon expected to be in Augsburg. Persistent rumors that the Papists together with the Roman Catholic princes had succeeded in making him very suspicious of the orthodoxy of the Lutherans convinced the Lutheran Estates that they

should stand together and hand in a common Confession. This was the reason why the representatives of Nuremberg, (as we saw under d) took a copy of Melanchthon's work and sent it home. The city of Nuremberg asked to be taken in with Saxony. The Margrave of Brandenburg had wanted from the beginning to be a party with the Saxon Elector.[148] The same was the case with Philip of Hessia.[149] But there was some special difficulty with him. He wanted *to see* the Zwinglians included.[150] To this even Melanchthon was opposed: (1) because of the revolutionary character of the Zwinglian movement,[151] (2) because Melanchthon, at this time, was in his heart disgusted with the doctrinal position of Zwingli[152] and (3), considered from a purely political standpoint, Zwingli's symbolical interpretation of the Lord's Supper was especially repulsive to the Romanists. The Lutherans could not risk endangering their cause by including him, nor the South German cities who were leaning towards the Swiss reformer. Philip of Hessia wished that Art. X on the Lord's Supper had read differently. But here the Lutherans took a firm stand. So he yielded, and they in turn gave him the satisfaction of dropping some more or less open attacks upon the Sacramentarians, which were contained in Melanchthon's introduction and in the article on Mass.[153] The signatures of the Confession as we have it show the estates that had agreed to profess their faith

---

[148] *Corp. Ref.* II, 69.

[149] *Corp. Ref.*, p. 60.

[150] Kolde, *Aelteste Redaktion*, p. 40 ff.

[151] Zwingli wanted to see Charles V. deposed and Philip of Hessia to become Emperor. *Corp. Ref.* I, 1035. This had become public.

[152] *Corp. Ref.* II, 83, 103. *"Dogmata habent intolerabilia."*

[153] Comp. the Art. XVIII in Kolde's *Aelteste Redaktion* with our Art. XXIV; also Foerstemann, *Urkundenbuch* I, 331.

before the emperor and the representatives of Germany. Now the introduction of Melanchthon, on which he had spent so much care, did not fit any more into the situation. It was set aside and Dr. Brueck, the Saxon Chancellor, wrote a new introduction for the common Confession of all the Lutheran Estates present.

**8. The Delivery of the Confession.**

Here we have to omit much interesting history because we must confine ourselves to an introduction to general Lutheran Symbolics.[154] We shall simply state that the Confession was delivered in Latin and in German on the 25th of June, at the palace of the Bishop in Augsburg where the emperor was residing. The German copy was read with a ringing voice by Dr. Beyer, the second Chancellor of Electoral Saxony, and then both copies were handed to the secretary of the emperor. Charles, taking both copies into his hands, put the Latin copy into his pocket and gave the German to the Archbishop of Mayence to be deposited in the archives of the empire.

**9. A Brief Review of the History of the Texts of the Augsburg Confession.**

**a. The German Text in the Book of Concord.** The German original of the Confession was deposited in the archives at Mayence. But when the council of Trent was to be held, in 1545, it was taken to Italy and never returned.[155] For two hundred years it was believed that the German text in the Book of Concord,

---

[154] A brief review of the history connected with the delivery of the Augsburg Confession is found in J. L. Neve, *Augs. Conf.*, pp. 44-48.

[155] G. G. Weber, *Kritische Geschichte der Augsburg Konfession*, Vol. II, introduction. Th. Kolde, *Historische Einleitung*, p. XXX.

as used among the Germans today,[156] was identical with the German copy deposited in Mayence. *What is the history of this self-deception?* When the Book of Concord was to be published (1580) the promoters of the Concordia work desired reliable texts of the Augsburg Confession. Here we speak of the German text. They did not want any of the later editions of Melanchthon, but they wanted the original text, the one that had been presented in Augsburg. This text was supposed to be in the archives of Mayence. They did not know that it had been taken to Italy and not returned. So they looked to Mayence for this text. But how did they get it? In 1566 court-preacher George Coelestine of Brandenburg had been in Mayence on the mission of securing an authentic copy of the original Augsburg Confession.[157] He brought the text. But he had been deceived by the secretaries of the archive and partly committed an act of deception himself. The secretaries had put another copy in the old envelope, a copy of inferior value and dating from the time when the Confession was yet in the process of creation. This copy, of course, did not have the signatures of the princes. But Coelestine added these himself.[158] This text of Coelestine was the one which was taken into the Book of Concord. Two hundred years later George Gottlieb Weber discovered the deception and published

---

[156] Comp. J. T. Mueller, *Symbolische Buecher der ev.-Luth. Kirche, deutsch und lateinisch*, Guetersloh, C. Bertelsmann, 1907, 10th Edition.

[157] It was to be incorporated in the Corpus Doctrinae Brandenburgicum which was then in preparation and appeared in 1572. These Corpora Doctrinae represent the preparatory stages for the creation of the Book of Concord, see article by G. Kawerau in Hauck, *R. E.*, IV, p. 293 f.; also introduction to this book, p. 20; cf. pp. 97 f. 98.

[158] Koellner, *Symbolik*, p. 270, note 3, p. 299, note 7. Zoeckler, *Augsburg Conf.*, p. 59. Kolde, *Hist. Einl.*, p. XXXI. Weber I, 236 f.

his findings in a work of two volumes.[159] This, however, has not led the Lutherans in Germany to make a change in their Book of Concord. In theological circles they use the Latin text,[160] and the German text is interpreted after the Latin.

**b. What Became of the Latin Text?** Charles V. deposited it in the archives at Brussels.[161] Charles was king over the Netherlands. But when his son, the fanatic Philip II of Spain, had ascended the throne and the Netherlands rose in war against him, he instructed the Duke Alva, his general, that on his return to Spain he should bring with him the Confession, "in order that they (the Protestants) might not hold it as a Koran" and that he should "be careful that the original be given him, and not a copy, and that no other, not even a trace of it, be left so that so pernicious a book may be forever destroyed".[162] From a receipt given, we know that when Alva returned to Spain (1573) he took the Confession with him. It has no doubt been destroyed.[163]

So, **the result of our investigation** (under a and b) is that neither the German nor the Latin copy of the Confession, delivered 1530 at Augsburg, was at hand when the Book of Concord was published. It is certain that the Latin copy has been destroyed, but the German

---

[159] *Kritische Geschichte der Augsb. Konf.* (1783-84). A review of Weber's research and its results are found in Zoeckler, *Augsb. Conf.*, p. 74 ff.

[160] Of this our English text is a translation.

[161] W. Lindanus, *Apologeticum ad Germanos* etc. III, p. 92. Hutter, *Concordia Discors* etc. *Coloniae* 1583, p. 185.

[162] Kolde, *Hist. Einl., p. XXXI.* The Spanish original of this letter was published by J. Doellinger, *Beitraege zur politischen und Kirchlichen Kulturgeschichte der letzten sechs Jahrhunderte*, I, 648. Regensburg 1862.

[163] Kolde, *Neue Augustana Studien*, p. 744.

copy may yet be in some one of the archives of Italy.[164] We have found that *the German text* in the German edition of the Book of Concord is not reliable, because it dates from the time when the Confession was not yet fully prepared for delivery.[165] *This leads us to inquire concerning the reliability of the text which we use in the English speaking branch of the Lutheran Church.* We shall gain some idea as to this after a brief discussion of the edition of the Confession in Latin of which our English text is a translation.

### 10. The First Authorized Edition of the Augsburg Confession — the Editio Princeps.

Immediately after his return from Augsburg, Melanchthon began an official publication of the Confession. It appeared about the beginning of May, 1531, in Latin and in German.[166]

*a. But how could this work be reliably done since the original texts were not in the possession of the Lutherans?* Let us not forget that Melanchthon had all the material in hand, from which the final copies for delivery had been made, shortly before the public reading. When the Confession was yet in process of preparation, and especially when it was about completed, there were copies taken from it by the different parties interested. There are yet thirty-nine of these in existence.[167] Some of them, it is true, were taken when the Confession was yet very incomplete. *To this class belongs the German text in the German Book of Concord.*

---

[164] Prof. Hase of Jena has searched the Vatican library for it, but in vain.

[165] Compare Kolde, *Einl.* p. XXXI.

[166] Kolde in Schmauk's *Confessional Principle,* p. 523 ff; Tschackert, *Unveraenderte Augsb. Conf.,* p. 3.

[167] Comp. Tschackert, p. 9.

But some of these copies were taken after the completion of the document, at the time when the Lutherans were ready to deliver it. These copies have even the signatures affixed, a class of manuscripts regarded as especially reliable. *From the Latin text in its completed form we have six copies and one French translation.*[168]

*b. With the original texts lost, by what means can we arrive at a conclusion in the question of the agreement of Melanchthon's Editio Princeps with the originals?* The late Prof. Paul Tschackert of Goettingen, has done us a service in publishing a book in which, by a careful comparison of all those manuscripts,[169] he has constructed a text in German and Latin, in parallel columns, from which the original and lost copies cannot have differed very materially.[170]

*c. What do we find when we make the comparison?* We find that Melanchthon in that first edition of the Confession did indeed seek to improve the text in a number of places. In that day men did not feel that an official document of this kind should not be altered. Luther did the same with the Smalcald Articles.[171] But it must be remembered that the changes "can hardly in any place be regarded as actual alterations of the doctrinal substance".[172]

---

[168] Neve, A. C., p. 52.

[169] Preserved in many (mostly German) archives, enumerated by Tschackert.

[170] *Die unveraenderte Augsb. Konf., deutsch und lateinisch, nach den besten Handschriften aus den Bestitze der Unterzeichner,* Leipzig 1910.

[171] See p. 347.

[172] Kolde, see Schmauk p. 524. In two places, however, we have interesting and valuable additions. In Art. XIII the closing paragraph (the rejection of the opus operatum); and in Article XVIII the last two paragraphs, beginning with the words "They condemn the Pelagians" etc. have been added.

**Note:** As indicated, this first Latin edition of the Confession, or *Editio Princeps,* was accompanied by an edition in German which had many more changes than the Latin. We shall not take space to discuss this fact as it is of no practical significance. Our English text is a translation of the Latin and not of the German *Editio Princeps.* Neither shall we discuss the second Latin edition which appeared the same year, [173] much amplified, nor another edition in German, published in 1533,[174] because, as Kolde again says, the changes "do not present any alteration in the substance of the doctrine".

**11. The "Altered" Augustana of 1540 (Variata).**

a. By this term **Variata** we mean the Latin text of a new edition of the Augsburg Confession (German and Latin) with the Apology, which appeared in 1540.[175]

b. While in the preceding editions the changes merely aimed at clarifying the thought, in the Latin text of this edition there are **changes of doctrinal significance. What are these changes?**

(1) In Art. X on the Lord's Supper two very important phrases, the *"vere adsint"* (truly present) and the *"improbant secus docentes"* (we disapprove of those who teach otherwise) are omitted. What may have caused Melanchthon to make these changes? This is a question that has been much discussed and variously answered according to the theological standpoint of the inquirers. The Melanchthonians have taken the position that these omissions had no doctrinal significance whatever. Melanchthon had always remained in harmony with Luther on the doctrine of the Real Presence except that he could not always follow him in the use

---

[173] Weber I, pp. 86-91.

[174] Weber II, p. 38 ff., p. 56, 82 ff. Schmauk p. 525.

[175] The Variata text is found in the *Corp. Ref.* XXVI, 343; also in Kolde's little book *"Die Augb. Konf."*, and translated into English in the 2d vol. of Dr. Jacobs' *Book of Concord,* not People's Edition.

of his strongly realistic language on this subject. And they advocate this Variata text as doctrinally identical with the *Editio Princeps* which the Lutheran Church uses. The article in the *Variata* form reads as follows: *De coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in coena Domini.* (Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that *with bread and wine* are truly *exhibited* the body and blood of Christ to those that eat in the Lord's Supper). This is not un-Lutheran doctrine. To present the Calvinistic view it would have to read, *"credentibus,"* instead of *"vescentibus,"* and if exception has been taken to the word *"exhibeantur"* it must be replied that this was the term used in the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, to which Luther himself had subscribed. And yet the question remains unanswered: *Why did Melanchthon omit the two very significant phrases:* "truly present" and "they disapprove of those who teach otherwise"? There must have been a reason. It can have been no other than this: Melanchthon, in his ardent desire to unite all Protestants on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, for which there was some prospect after Zwingli was dead (1531), "wanted to secure for himself and others a basis on which to co-operate with the Swiss theologians". (Kolde). There is nothing to prove conclusively that Melanchthon, for his own person, ever departed from the doctrine of the Real Presence. But he had lost, more and more, the appreciation of the difference, at least as it existed between the South Germans (Calvin) and Luther.[176] At first no one took special

[176] Comp. our discussion of the tenth article, section 7 (pp. 207 ff.); also Kurtz *Kirchengeschichte* (14th edition), § 161, 9; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* I, 240. And on the whole question *Corp. Ref.* II, 25, 104, 382, 822, 217, 837, 841; III, 292; VII, 780, 884; VIII, 358; IX, 387, 962, 933.

offense at these omissions. But when later (after 1552) the Melanchthonians in Saxony endeavored to introduce Calvinism under the cover of the *Variata* (the Crypto-Calvinistic controversies) then the text of Article X of this edition was viewed with suspicion.

(2) Into this category of changes that have a doctrinal significance belong also certain expressions and passages in Articles XVIII, IV, V, and XX, "with their emphasis upon repentance and good works in a manner characteristic of synergism and corresponding with the new edition of Melanchthon's Loci of 1535".[177]

**c. Dr. Philip Schaff on the Variata:** "The edition of 1540, which appeared in connection with an improved edition of the Apology, differs so widely from the first that it was subsequently called the *Altered* Augsburg Confession *(Variata),* in distinction from the *Unaltered (Invariata)* of 1530 or 1531. It attracted little attention until after the death of Melanchthon (1560), when it created as much trouble as the insertion of the *filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed. The Altered

---

[177] Zoeckler, *Die Augsburg Konf.,* p. 37. Melanchthon labored, after 1535, for a certain co-ordination of the human and the Divine factor in conversion. Prof. Paul Tschackert points out some striking deviations of the Variata from the Invariata. In Art. V of the Confession, where the *Invariata* reads, "through Word and Sacrament . . . . the Holy Spirit is given", there the Variata says, "When we comfort ourselves (*erigumus nos*) through faith, then *simultaneously* (*simul*) the Holy Spirit is given us". Again in Art. V the *Variata* has this sentence, "When we hear or consider the Gospel, or use the Sacraments and comfort ourselves (*nos consolamar*) through faith, then *simultaneously* (*simul*) the Holy Spirit is working." Note the repeated use of the word "*simul*". In article XVIII of Free Will, the Invariata says, "spiritual righteousness is worked by the Holy Ghost who is received in the heart through the Word of God." Here the *Variata* says: "But spiritual righteousness is effected in us when we are *assisted* (*adjuvamur*) by the Holy Spirit." This same word *"adjuvati"* is also put into Art. XX. So Melanchthon, after changing his conviction concerning Free Will, "put his own private theology into the Variata". P. Tschackert, *Die Entstehung der Luth. and Ref. Kirchenlehre,* p. 291.

Confession, besides a large number of valuable additions and real improvements in style and the order of subjects, embodies the changes in Melanchthon's theology, which may be dated from the new edition of his *Loci Communes,* 1535, and his personal contact with Bucer and Calvin. He gave up, on the one hand, his views on absolute predestination, and gradually adopted the synergistic theory (which brought him nearer to the Roman Catholic system); while on the other hand (departing further from Romanism and approaching nearer to the Reformed Church), he modified the Lutheran theory of the Real Presence, at least so far as to allow the Reformed doctrine the same right in the evangelical churches. He never liked the Zwinglian view of a symbolical presence, nor did he openly adopt the Calvinistic view of a spiritual Real Presence, but he . . . regarded the difference between this and the Lutheran view as no bar to Christian fellowship and Church Communion. Hence, in the edition of 1540, he laid greater stress on the necessity of repentance and good works, and softened down the strong expressions against the freedom of will. The other and more important change which gave most offense to orthodox Lutherans, is in the tenth article, concerning the Lord's Supper, where the clause on the Real Presence, and the disapproval of dissenting views are omitted, and the word *exhibeantur* is substituted for *distribuantur.* In other words, the article is so changed that Calvin could give it his hearty consent, and even Zwingli, with the exception, perhaps, of the word *truly ("truly exhibited")* — might have admitted it".[178]

[178] *Creeds of Christendom* I, 240 f.

**d. The Variata as a Recognized Text in the Lutheran Church.** At first it was used everywhere without suspicion. Even Luther did not protest against the *Variata,* at least not publicly.[179] It was during the years when hope was entertained that the Wittenberg Concord might unite all Protestantism and when Luther also wanted to do his utmost to cultivate friendly relations with the Swiss theologians.[180] At the Colloquy in Worms with the Romanists (1540) it was the *Variata* which the Lutherans handed to the chairman of the conference. It was used in the schools. So the *Variata* had entirely supplanted the *Editio Princeps.*

**e. The Lutheran Church returns again to the Editio Princeps.**

(1) The *first to protest against the Variata were the Romanists.* Dr. Eck protested at the **Colloquy in Worms** (1540), that this edition differed materially from the original Confession delivered at Augsburg. And at another colloquy in Worms, 1557, the Catholics demanded with malice and cunning that first of all those Lutherans *who had deserted the Augsburg Confession* should be condemned, and the Jesuit Canisius spoke of *a pure and an adulterated Augsburg Confession.*[181]

---

[179] Kurtz, in his Church History, quotes him as having expressed his disapproval in these words: "Phillipe, you do not right in so often changing the Augsburg Confession, for it is not yours, but the Church's book." But we cannot prove this to be historical, and it has been omitted in the 14th edition of this work. Concerning the origin of this report, see J. L. Neve, *Altered and Unaltered Augustana,* p. 19. Also Koellner, *Symbolik,* p. 237.

[180] Enders, *Briefwechsel,* XI, 294, Erl. Ed. of Luther's works 55, p. 190. Koestlin Kawerau, *Leben Luther's* (4th ed.) II, p. 350 and 352. Planck, *Geschichte der Entstehung,* etc. III, Book 8, p. 399 ff.

[181] Hauck, *R. E.* XII, 525. Kolde, *Hist. Einl.,* p. XXVII. Salig, *Historie der Augsb. Conf.* III, 308. The Romanists never lost track of this discovery (that the editions of the Augsburg Confession then in

(2) In 1560, at the **disputation between Victor Strigel and Matthias Flacius in Weimar,** we have *the first discussion of the differences between Variata and Invariata among Lutherans themselves.* Here Flacius insisted on a material difference between Melanchthon's later and former editions of the Augustana.[182] From now on the attitude of the Church is directed to the distinction between an altered and an unaltered Augsburg Confession. Not that the terms *"Variata"* and *"Invariata"* were coined at once, but the distinction was there and became fixed more and more in the consciousness of leading Lutheran theologians. Suspicion against the *Variata* increased when Calvinism, favored by the Melanchthonians, entered upon an aggressive propaganda in Germany with constant appeal to the text of the Variata.[183] **The Day of the Princes at Naumburg** (1561) is characteristic of the confusion in which the Lutheran Church found itself in its endeavor to decide upon an authoritative text. Here the representatives compared the *Variata* of 1540 with the earlier editions of the Augustana and, for the first time, found to their amazement, how numerous were the differences. They finally agreed to subscribe to the edition

---

use were not in agreement with the original copies delivered at Augsburg), on which, according to their conception, the Augsburg Religious Peace treaty of 1555 was based, and the Jesuits from this time forth never ceased that agitation which finally resulted in the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Compare Zoeckler, *Augsb. Conf.*, p. 67 ff.

[182] Here it was that he told that story of Luther's disapproving remark to Melanchthon, which we refuse to accept as historical, because it cannot be proved by clear testimony (see above).

[183] Calvin himself in a public reply to Joachim Westphal, declared that he could accept the Augsburg Confession *"in the way it has been interpreted by its own author"*, and he stated that in 1541 both Melanchthon and Cruciger had expressed themselves as being in entire harmony with his (Calvin's) doctrine of the Sacraments. Salig I, 491. Staehlin, *John Calvin* I, 234.

of 1531, *(Editio Princeps)*, but as a concession, especially to Elector Frederick Palatine (who soon afterwards went over to Calvinism), they declared in a "Preface," which was to accompany the *Editio Princeps*, that the *Variata* contained no new doctrine, but simply that in it the "Confession was repeated in a somewhat more stately and elaborate manner, explained and enlarged on the basis of the Holy Scriptures". This agreement at Naumburg soon afterwards broke to pieces. The Non-Melanchthonians who had decided to take their stand upon the side of genuine Lutheranism did not want that recognition of the *Variata*, but they desired instead a recognition of the Smalcald Articles of Luther as a safeguard for the correct interpretation of the Augustana.[184]

**(3) General Agreement in Returning to the Editio Princeps.** The Lutheran Churches of the different German states, feeling the need of doctrinal unity at least in their own dominions, began to establish, independently of each other, a collection of confessional writings, which was declared *norma normans* for the teaching of the Divine Word. These are the so-called *Corpora Doctrinae*.[185] Some of these were Melanchthonian in character, containing the *Variata* and the chief writings of Melanchthon, such as the Apology, the Confessio Saxonica, the *Loci* (ed. 1556), the *Examen Ordinandorum*, etc.,[186] while others were Lutheran in character and contained (besides the Augusburg Confession, in *Editio Princeps* text, and Apology) the writings

[184] Comp. the article of Kawerau in Hauck's *R. E.* XIII, 265; also Richard, *Conf. Hist.*, p. 296.

[185] See article of Prof. Kawerau in Hauck's *R. E.* IV, 293-298. Cf. our "Introduction," p. 20.

[186] Such was the Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum for Electoral Saxony.

of Luther, especially the Smalcald Articles and the Catechisms.[187] In 1580 the Book of Concord took the place of the Melanchthonian *Corpus Doctrinae* in Electoral Saxony, and most of the other dominions followed. As to the Latin text, the Book of Concord was to have the *Editio Princeps* of 1531.[188]

**(4) Today there is no part of the Lutheran Church that has the Variata as its Confessional basis.** In Germany the Book of Concord has the Latin text of the *Editio Princeps* and the less reliable German text which was discussed sub. 9, a. The *Variata* is known only among theologians and, as a text, has nowhere confessional significance. The English branch of the Lutheran Church in America uses the English translation of the Latin *Editio Princeps*. This text is the only one recognized and the *Variata* text is hardly known.[189]

But if this is the case then a very practical question remains to be answered:

**f. Why Does the Lutheran Church of to-day insist upon a Subscription to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession?** If there is no other text in use why such a qualification?

(1) It must be admitted, as we have seen, that, strictly speaking, even *the Editio Princeps cannot be called "unaltered"*, because it has some changes from the original. But we all know what is meant when we

---

[187] To this class belong the *Corpora Doctrinae* of Brunswick (1561), of Brandenburg (1572), of Prussia (1567), of Brunswick-Wolfenbuettel (1570), of Thuringia (1570), and of Brunswick-Lueneburg (1576).

[188] Only by a mistake which was soon corrected, the editors of the Book of Concord at first put in Melanchthon's second edition of the Augustana. For this, Melanchthon soon substituted the real Editio Princeps. Respecting the German text, see above, sub. 9.

[189] See it translated into English in vol. II of the larger edition of Dr. Jacobs' Book of Concord.

employ that term. The *Editio Princeps* has no changes from the original that are of *doctrinal* significance. And we call the text of 1540 a *Variata,* because in it expression has been given to Melanchthonian theology, a theology which labored to bridge over the gulf between Lutheranism and Calvinism in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper by treating these fundamental distinctions as matters of indifference,[190] and which in the doctrine of Free Will, sacrificed essential elements of the *sola gratia* theology of Luther.[191]

(2) But to return to the question: *Why should the Lutheran Church of to-day insist upon a subscription to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession?* Our answer is this: While the *Variata,* as a document and as a text, is nowhere in use, yet the theology of the document is a danger for the Lutheran Church of to-day as well as during the time of the Crypto-Calvinistic and the Synergistic controversies. This theology is a constant temptation for the adherents to the Augsburg Confession to lose themselves in the direction of indifference to the old historical issues between Lutheranism and Calvinism, and in the direction of Synergism. There was an historical occasion for the Lutheran Church at the time of the publication of the Formula of Concord to emphasize the adherence to the *Unaltered* Augsburg Confession, and since there have always been those who purposely rejected this qualification, because they wanted to hold the way open for an approach of Lutheranism

[190] In Art. X of the *Variata* we have the unconscious beginnings of a theology which in the Crypto-Calvinistic troubles became the disturbing element and which in a following age received a temporary expression in Syncretism, and finally became permanently embodied in the Union movements of 1817 which have lamentably altered the confessional status of large sections of the Lutheran Church.

[191] P. Tschackert, *Entstehung der luth. und ref. Kirchenlehre,* p. 291.

to Melanchthonianism and to Calvinism, therefore the qualification *Unaltered* is of importance to-day in the formula of confessional subscription.

**Note:** As to how the Augsburg Confession has been regarded in the successive ages of Lutheran history and what has been its significance I refer to the discussion in my book on the "Augsburg Confession" (*ut supra*) pp. 53-55.

### B. CONTENTS.

## The Introduction to the Augsburg Confession.

This introduction was written by the Saxon Chancellor, Dr. Brueck. How this came about, we have shown in our "Historical Introduction" § 7, e (compare with a). It is written in the exceedingly involved official language of that day. For this reason let us give the contents in our own language in the form of a synopsis as follows:

The Emperor has called the diet to discuss the Turk question and the religious dissension. Each of these two things should be heard and considered in order to settle the matter. 1-3. The Lutherans are willing to do so. 5. The Emperor has demanded from each side a doctrinal statement in Latin and German. Such a statement has now been drawn up by the Lutherans and is herewith presented. 6-8. If the Romanists will now present similar writings then the Lutherans are willing for negotiations. In case such endeavors should be in vain, they have done their part. 9-14. They also appeal for a free German Christian council as it had been promised by the Emperor in 1526 and 1529. 15-24.

*Remarks:* The Emperor is addressed with exquisite terms of respect. More than twenty times we read: Your Imperial Majesty, or Your Majesty. The Pope is simply called: Roman Pontiff (three times) and Chief Pontiff (once). Another thing that deserves to be noted in this introduction is that already here the Confession is spoken of as resting upon "the Holy Scriptures and the pure Word of God" (6).

*The Articles of the Confession.*

They are divided into two parts. The first twenty-one state thetically and antithetically the chief doctrines of the followers of Luther with the purpose of proving before the emperor and the whole public that their faith is in harmony with that of the *old Catholic* Church as expressed in the Oecumenical Creeds. The last seven articles deal with the abuses of the *Roman* Catholic Church, but they also contain much that is supplementary to the doctrinal articles of the first part.

Before taking up one article after the other in detail we offer the following as an outline in order to facilitate for the student the practice of familiarizing himself with the contents of the Confession:

(1) *The doctrine of God* (Theology): Art. I, of God, the Triune.

(2) *On man* (Anthropology): Art. II, of original sin; supplemented by Art. XVIII, of free will, supplemented further, by Art. XIX, of the cause of sin.

(3) *"The Son of God"* (Christology): Art. III. In connection with this may be taken Art. XXI: Of the invocation of saints, with the thought: Christ is the only Mediator.

(4) *The central doctrine of man's salvation* (Soteriology): Art. IV: Of justification, Art. VI: Of the new obedience (or: The relation of sanctification to justification); supplemented by Art. XX: On faith and good works.

(5) *The means of grace:* Art. V: Of the origin and cause of faith.[192] It is the Word and the Sacra-

[192] This is the most fitting superscription over Art. V, as was suggested already by Feuerlin and recommended also by Th. Kolde, (Augsb. Conf., p. 29). Of the ministry is here spoken only incidentally, namely

ments. And in connection with this article we take IX on Baptism, X on the Lord's Supper, and XIII on the use of the Sacraments. Articles XXII (on Both Kinds in the Lord's Supper) and XXIV (on the Mass, i. e., the Communion Service) also belong in this group.

(6) *"Repentance" and "Confession":* Art. XII treats of repentance, and XI with XXV of Confession.

(7) *The doctrine of the Church* (Ecclesiology): Art. VII, on the essence of the Church; Art. VIII, of the administration of the means of grace by insincere ministers, or: On the efficacy of Word and Sacraments.

(8) *Church government:* Art. XIV: Of the regular call to the ministry; and Art. XV, on the attitude of the Church to traditions and orders and institutions that have no expressed foundation in the Scriptures. And with this again should be compared Art. XXVIII of the second part of the Confession.

(9) *"Civil Affairs":* Art. XVI, defending matrimony (compare XXIII), rejecting communism and asserting the right of government.

(10) *"Christ's return for judgment"* in Art. XVII, with the rejection of chiliasm and the final restoration of the wicked.

This outline[193] raises the question whether Melanchthon aimed at any *system* of doctrines. There was no aim at a system of theology in the way we speak of that to-day; in choosing and selecting the materials Melanchthon was guided by the practical needs of the hour. The Confession was to be an "apology," and pains were

---

as the organ for the administration of the means of grace through which justifying faith is obtained. The superscriptions over the articles of the Confession were not chosen by Melanchthon, but have been made at a later time. So we feel free to make our criticism.

[193] Compare Zoeckler, p. 95, and Richard, pp. 104-122.

taken to defend the Lutherans in the points where they had been accused of teaching false doctrines. Yet there is a certain order in the arrangement of the articles. To understand that arrangement, it must not be overlooked that the last four articles of the first part, from XVIII to XXI, have been added for supplementary purposes, with the view of further explaining some important doctrines of the preceding articles. So we have the real body of the doctrines in Articles I to XVII: Art. I begins with God and Art. XVII closes with Christ's return for judgment. This indicates the intended order.

*The Doctrinal Articles of the Confession Interpreted.*

The English text which here follows is the one that is found in the People's Edition of the Book of Concord, prepared by Dr. H. E. Jacobs. The words in brackets are from the German Editio Princeps. The Latin text, here given, represents the Editio Princeps, the first edition prepared by Melanchthon for print (cf. p. 89 ff.).

## ARTICLE ONE.

### Of God.

Our Churches, with common consent, do teach, that the decree of the Council of Nicaea concerning the Unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the Three Persons, is true and to be believed without any doubting that is to say, there is one Divine Essence which is called and which is God: eternal, without body, without parts, of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible; and yet that there are three Persons,

Ecclesiae magno consensu apud nos docent, decretum Nicaenae synodi de unitate essentiae divinae et de tribus personis verum et sine ulla debitatione credendum esse. Videlicet, quod sit una essentia divina, quae et appellatur et est Deus, aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, creator et conservator omnium rerum, visibilium et invisibilium; et tamen tres sint personae, eiusdem essentiae et potentiae, et coaeternae, Peter, Filius et

of the same essence and power, who also are coeternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. And the term "person" they use as the Fathers have used it, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which subsists of itself.

They condemn all heresies which have sprung up against this article, as the Manichaeans who assumed two principles [gods], one Good, and the other Evil; also the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans, and all such. They condemn also the Samosatenes, old and new, who contending that there is but one Person, sophistically and impiously argue that the Word and the Holy Ghost are not distinct Persons, but that "Word" signifies a spoken word, and "Spirit [Ghost] signifies motion created in things.

Spiritus Sanctus. Et nomine personae utuntur ea significatione, qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit.

Damnant omnes haereses, contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manichaeos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum, item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas et omnes horum similes. Damnant et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui quum tantum unam personam esse contendant, de Verbo et de Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personae distinctae, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

The first article of our Confession is based upon the theology of the Oecumenical Creeds. Although the "decree of the council of Nicea" alone is mentioned, this article throughout has references to the first part of the Athanasian Creed, which treats of the Trinity (Cf. in our book, p. 65 f.). It is in the Athanasian Creed where we find the term "person".

The contents of our article can be analyzed as follows:

I. THETICAL.

**1. There is only One God.** ("there is one divine essence").

2. But this one God exists in **Three Persons** ("that there are three persons"), namely Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

3. A **Definition** of the term *"person"* is given; ("and the term 'person' they use as the Fathers have used it, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which subsists of itself"). Something negative and positive is here mentioned:

**a. Negative:** *"Not a part or quality in another."* This has reference to the Samosatenes (mentioned below) who, in the interest of their Monarchianism ("contending that there is but one person") "sophistically and impiously argue that the Word and the Holy Ghost are not distinct Persons, but *that 'Word' signifies a spoken word, and 'Spirit' signifies motion created in things".*

**b. Positive:** "That which subsists of itself." (Latin: *Quod proprie subsistit*). The modern meaning of person (unity of self-consciousness and self-determination) comes near to what is here intended to be expressed, though it has to be used with discrimination. Each person in the Trinity has *self-consciousness,* which is seen from the use of the personal pronouns "I", "Thou", "He"; although there remains a strong emphasis upon the "We". And with even more discrimination must we speak of the *self-determination* of each person in the Trinity, because the will and determination of the one is in perfect harmony with the will of the others. *In what sense is this term "person" to be taken?* Melanchthon says: "And the term 'person' they (the Lutheran churches) use as the Fathers have used it."

But we find that all the Fathers did not use that term in one and the same sense.[193a] So there seems to be only one way for us to find the sense in which our article wants to understand the term "person", namely, to investigate what was regarded as orthodox doctrine of the Trinity by the Fathers who framed and confirmed the Nicene Creed at Nicea and during the following dicussions and who more and more united in the phraseology which was later expressed in the Athanasion Creed.[194]. Melanchthon mentions as essential "that which subsists of itself". It was this which the Samosatenes (dynamistic Monarchians) rejected. A. v. Oettingen expresses it fittingly as follows: *"selbststaendige Bewusstseins- und Willensformen des einen goettlichen Wesens".*

**4. None of the Three Persons has the Divine Essence less than the Other.** Each has it in a perfect manner, each is equal to the other in power, all are co-

---

[193a] Comp. Dr. J. A. Brown, First Series of *Holman, Lectures,* p. 19.

[194] In the Athanasian Creed (part I) the Trinitarian teaching of the orthodox fathers is enriched with Augustinian speculation, and some, for instance R. Seeberg, aim to exclude that from the confessional substance of our early Creeds. But Luther and Melanchthon accepted that Creed. It is true Luther has questioned the adequacy of the terms homoousia and subsistence. Yet he convinced himself that after all no better term could be found. Compare here the excellent article in Luthardt's *Allg. Ev.-Luth. Kirchenzeitung* of Febr. 24, 1911, by Lic. Dr. Stier (largely quoted in the Introduction to this book). He defends against Dr. Th. Kaftan the position that the confessional element in the ancient Creeds is contained not only in the *ideas* to be expressed, but also in the *forms* which they received in history. While this form is, admittedly, of an accidental nature (namely as a contribution of the Greek mind) yet this form is now inseparable from the substance of the Creed. This form has, better than anything else, succeeded in expressing the intended idea. The Church, up to this day, has not been able to find terms that are more adequate. *"Diese Formen haben den Druck der Gegensaeeze getragen der alten und der mittelalterlichen Welt. . . . Und diese Formen haben sich gegenueber diesen Gegensaetzen bewaehrt."*

eternal. Text: "that there are three persons, of the same essence and power, who are also co-eternal" (against Arianism, see below).

**5. This One Divine Essence** is "eternal, without body, without parts, of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible". The point to be made is that while the Triune God is to be thought of in "persons" yet He is above all human limitations.

## II. Antithetical.

*Three classes of errorists* are here rejected:

**1. Those That Deny the One Essence.**

a. "The **Manichaeans** who assumed two principles, one Good, and the other Evil." In order to explain the existence of sin the Manichaeans taught the double principle in God. There were Manichaeans through the whole medieval ages. The Cathari and Albigenses, belonging to a more recent past, were especially abhorred by the Church, and malicious opponents of the Lutherans, like Dr. Eck, labored to identify them with these semi-heathen sects.[195]

b. "Also the **Valentinians"** (Gnostics) who taught a multiplicity of deities emanating from a divine source in pairs (σύζυγυ) and thus putting a peculiar kind of dualism into the conception of God. (Zoeckler suggests that the special cause for mentioning this one kind among the great variety of Gnostics must have been due to the recent disputation of Melanchthon with Joh. Campanus in Wittenberg, an Anti-Trinitarian).

---

[195] Kurtz, *Church History*, p. 108, 1; Zoeckler, *Augsb. Confession*, p. 130; Plitt, *Einleitung* I, 529; Meusel, *Handlexicon*.

**2. Such as teach one God, but deny that this One God Exists in Three Persons.**

a. **Mohammedans,** the representatives of the abstract-monotheistic opposition to our Christian doctrine of the Trinity. The Mohammedans are an exception among all others mentioned here insofar as they are the only party that has no relation to Christianity. Cause for mentioning them must have been the writing of Dr. Eck who, in his 404 articles, had put the Lutherans on a parallel with the Turks. (Worse than the Turks *"Turcis pejores,"* cf. Plitt I, 527 ff.; II, 5 ff.)

b. "The **Samosatenes,** old and new."

*The old Samosatenes:* It seems strange that of Monarchianism only the one wing is mentioned and rejected in our Confession. The Samosatenes represent the so-called dynamistic Monarchianism, which, in the manner of the old Ebionites, emphasized the unity of God, making the Logos or Son a mere power with which the man Jesus was endowed, and also making the Holy Spirit an impersonal power. The other wing of Monarchianism, the so-called modalistic form, as represented by Sabellius and, therefore, named Sabellianism, is not mentioned in our article nor anywhere in the Lutheran Confessions.[196]

*The new Samosatenes:* Such as Denk and Hetzer are meant.[197] These Anti-Trinitarians, as also those who came after them (Dav. Joris, L. and F. Socinus), were more of the dynamistic type. This, perhaps, was the cause of Melanchthon's course of just mentioning

---

[196] Different it is in the Reformed Confessions. They reject Sabellianism, for instance in *Confessia Belgica,* Art. 9; *Helvetica* II, chap. 3.

[197] Cf. Kurtz, *Church History,* 14th ed. (1906), § 159, 1.

this one wing of the Monarchians.[198] Unitarianism is Samosatean in character. Melanchthon had such as Denk and Hetzer in mind. They considered God as an abstract unity, denied the divinity of Christ, and regarded the Spirit as an impersonal power. Particularly Hetzer taught, as our Confession here says, "that the Word and the Holy Ghost are not distinct persons, but that 'Word' signifies a spoken word, and 'Spirit' signifies the motion created in things".

**3. Those that admit Three Persons, but Subordinate Son and Spirit to the Father.**

a. The **Arians.** Arianism is the heretical climax of the old subordination view of the relation of the Son to the Father. The Son is a creature of the Father, not eternal, not of one essence with the Father. At best, He is a kind of a demi-god. Against Arianism was directed what we quoted from our article (sub. 1, 4): "three persons, of the *same* essence and power, who are also *co*-eternal". The Son does not have the divine essence in a lesser degree than the Father.

b. The relation of the Arians to the **Eunomians** is that of the superlative to the comparative in grammar. The Eunomians emphasized the teaching of Arianism to the extent of making the Son "unlike to the Father".[198a]

## ARTICLE TWO.[199]

### Of Original Sin.

| | |
|---|---|
| Also they teach, that since the Fall of Adam, all men be- | Item docent, quod post lapsum Adae omnes homines, |

[198] Yet some of the later Anti-Trinitarians, like Seb. Frank and Michael Servetus, were Sabellians.

[198a] Kurtz, 1888, § 50, 3.

[199] In the interpretation of this article we decided to make large use of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth's discussion of Art. II of the Augs-

gotten according to nature, are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with concupiscence; and that this disease, or vice of origin, is truly sin, even now condemning and bringing eternal death upon those not born again through baptism and the Holy Ghost.

They condemn the Pelagians and others, who deny that the vice of origin is sin, and who to obscure the glory of Christ's merits and benefits, argue that man can be justified before God by his own strength and reason.

secundum naturam propagati, nascantur cum peccato, hoc est, sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque aeternam mortem his, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum.

Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum et, ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi. disputant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram Deo justificari posse.

From God our Confession proceeds to man and treats of his misery in sin. The relation of this article to the central article of our Confession (IV on Justification) is clear. The sinfulness and condemnation, the helpless guilt and hopeless depravity of man is first to be established before the need of justification can be seen. So Melanchthon says in the Apology: "The recognition of Original Sin is necessary. For the magnitude of the grace of Christ cannot be understood, unless our diseases be recognized."[200] This article is an integral part of the material principle of the Reformation, the organic basis of the doctrine of justification by faith. And it is no exaggeration when Claus Harms says: "He who

burg Confession in his work "Conservative Reformation and its Theology" (Philadelphia, 1872). It is one of the finest gems that can be found anywhere in American Lutheran literature, and its leading thoughts deserve to be widely studied.

[200] Book of Concord. Jacobs, p. 80.

rejects Original Sin overthrows the whole Christianity."[201]

1. The Origin of Man's Sinful Condition.

**a. It is traced back to the "fall of Adam"** *(post lapsum Adae)*. So it has been transmitted from our progenitors, and from them we have inherited it. Therefore, the designation "vice of origin" *(vitium originis)* in the text of our article.[202] This is opposed to Pelagianism which taught that "all good and evil, all praiseworthiness or blameworthiness is in actual sin, is in actual obedience or transgression. Sin, therefore, cannot come by birth, but only by acts of free will. Adam could not originate sin once for all, but each original sinner must originate sin in his own case — the first sin of the human nature, which is in him."

b. But tracing our sinful condition backward **we must stop with "the fall of Adam".** We must not go back still further, even to the creation of man, thus making the *peccatum originis* a *peccatum naturale*. Against this doctrine of the Manichaeans, which would make man unredeemable, Art. XIX of the "Cause of Sin", is directed. Sin does not belong to our substance, but it has come into man as something foreign to him.

2. The Extent of Original Sin.

Our article says that "all men, *begotten according to nature,* are born with sin". So **the humanity of Christ is excepted** because he was born in a super-

[201] Zoeckler, *Augsb. Confession,* p. 139; compare S. Sprecher in *Holman Lecture,* first series, p. 41.

[202] This term, coined by Tertullian in his De Anima, 41, is the strongest possible term that could be chosen. The very familiar expression *peccatum originis* was not used by Melanchthon in this article, although he always employs it in the Apology.

natural way through the influence of the Holy Spirit and therefore was sinless (Heb. 4:15, 7:26). But **Mary, the mother of Christ, is included** (against the Roman Catholic Church) as she was begotten according to nature.[203]

### 3. The Definition of Original Sin.

"Born with sin, that is without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with concupiscence." First something negative and then something positive is mentioned. The negative is introduced with a double "without" (*sine*), and the positive by one "with" (*cum*). First the negative and then the positive, is the order in the **Latin text** of which our English is a translation. In the **German text** the order is reversed: first the positive (dass sie all von Mutterleibe an voll boeser Lust und Neigung sind), then the negative (keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keinen wahren Glauben an Gott von Natur haben koennen).

**a. Negative:** "Without the fear of God, without trust in God." This constitutes a real want.[204] In

---

[203] The Roman doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary was not sanctioned before 1869 at the Vatican Council, but it was taught by the Franciscan-Scotistic faction of the Church and at the time of the writing of the Augsburg Confession.

[204] Dr. S. Sprecher (*Holman Lect.* p. 46) says: "Now a real want consists not simply in the absence of a thing, but in the absence of a thing which should be present. The destitution of the fear of God and of confidence toward him, is not simply the absence of something but the absence of something which should be present. The Confession consequently speaks not merely negatively, but privatively. The absence of the fear of God and of confidence in Him from an irrational animal is not a real want, because the presence of them is not required by the normal state of its being. But in a rational being it is such, because without the presence of these qualities he is not what he is required, by his entire constitution and all his relations, to be. This destitution is as real a departure from the original and proper state of man, as would be the absence of reason."

the second edition of the Confession Melanchthon chose the following words: "and can have by nature no *true* fear of God, no *true* love of God, no *true* faith in God". We have by nature the fear of the servant (Romans 8:15), an instinctive fear, but not the true fear, the fear of the child of God. So we may also have a false trust in God, or a relying on His kindness which forgets that He cannot be love at the expense of His holiness. What Melanchthon had in mind is indicated in the Apology where he points to the German copy of the Confession to show that in choosing the words the thought had not been on any sinful act, but upon the *inability* of fearing and trusting God. We must distinguish between the *inability* of fearing and trusting God and the *actually* not fearing and trusting Him. Dr. Krauth says: "There must be something in a child that can love before it does love, and that something is born with the child."[205]

**b. Positive:** "and with concupiscence" *(et cum concupiscentia)*. What is meant by this term? Not chiefly the desires contrary to the sixth commandment. In this sense the term was used in **Roman Catholic theology.** It was called *fomes,* i. e. tinder (German: *Zunder*), by which was meant the inflammable substance in our flesh, the fleshly appetite. But **Melanchthon** took the position: "Flesh, when contrasted with Spirit, does not mean a part of man, but the whole man consisting of soul and body. . . . Original sin is a living impulse producing fruits, i. e. sins, in all parts of man and at all times of his being, sins many of which the natural man does not regard as sins: covetousness, unholy ambition, hatred, envy, jealousy, pride, lust, wrath, etc. So unfathomable is the corruption that its

[205] *Conservative Reformation,* p. 887.

true character can be learned only through the law of God."[206] *Dr. Krauth* says: "It (this concupiscence) is that in which all other sins in some sense take their origin. It throws its life into them; without it they might not be; it is not only original, it is also the originating sin, or that sin which gives the origin to all others."[207] By concupiscence *our Confessors here mean* the depravity which is the source of all evil inclinations. As Paul speaks of a "lust" that had "wrought in me all manner of concupiscence." As Plitt says of *Luther* that he had begun to learn, *"nicht was Suenden seien, sondern was die Suende sei"* — not what sins are, but what sin is.[208] These are Luther's own words: "This sin is not done like all other sin, but it is, it lives and does all other sin; it is the essential sin which does not sin for an hour or for a certain time, but wherever and as long as the person is, that long is this sin also.[209]

### 3. The Character of Original Sin.

The Confession says: *"quodque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum;"* German: *"dass auch dieselbige angeborne Seuche und Erbsuende wahrhaftiglich Suende sei;"* in our English translation from

---

[206] *Loci*, ed. of Plitt, pp. 119, 133.

[207] *Conserv. Ref.*, p. 390. In Luthardt, *Glaubenslehre*, p. 296, we read: "It is a mistaken exegesis to confine the meaning of flesh (sarx) to sensuality, because Scripture numbers sins of an altogether different kind also among the sins of the flesh (Col. 2:18; 2 Cor. 10:2 ff.; Gal. 3:3; 3:19 ff.). The many prominent sins would be left out of consideration: pride, hatred, envy and, above all, the many sins flowing out of selfishness."

[208] Plitt, *Einleitung in die Augustana* II, p. 104.

[209] Church Postill on Luke 2:21. Quenstedt: "Therefore, Paul, Romans 7, calls it sin fourteen times. . . . The apostle names it the law of sin warring against the law of the mind, an evil, a sinning sin."

the Latin: "and that this disease, or vice of origin, is truly sin."

**a. This statement is directed against** the conception of Original Sin as taught by the Scholastics and prevalent in the Papal Church. Original Sin was to them merely a loss of the Original Righteousness which consisted in the supernatural gifts: holiness, immortality, wisdom, dominion over the earth, etc. (donum superadditum). These gifts (in Gen. 1:27 the *zelem, similitudo,* likeness) God had added out of pure grace to the real image *(demut, imago),* that men might be enabled to overcome the flesh. According to Bellarmin, namely, there was in man from the beginning, because of his material constitution, a struggle between spirit and flesh. Now those gifts were added to what he had as a kind of a bridle to restrain the inclination of his flesh. But these *dona superaddita* were no integral constituents of the Image which consisted merely in immortality of soul, reason and free will, the pure nature *(pura naturalia).* In his fall, therefore, in losing the Original Righteousness, he lost no natural gift; he simply returned to his original state. "If a prince should put his livery upon a naked peasant, with the promise that he and his posterity should always wear it, if he behaved well, the loss of the livery, on transgression, would simply leave the peasant, and his children after him, in the same condition in which he was before he had this gift, and in which they would have been if he had never received it." This loss of Original Righteousness means for the descendants of Adam no real sinful condition, but has merely brought upon them a defect of human nature, a weakness *(languor)* so that it is more difficult now to overcome the inclina-

tions of the flesh, the *concupiscentia.* The natural depravity, or *fomes,* as they called it, is something indifferent, neither good nor bad, and not properly speaking sin. It only becomes sin if not resisted and when it developes into sinful acts; but if we resist then we are entitled to the much more praise. These thoughts which have grown in Pelagian soil and were taught by representative men like Thomas Aquinas [210] and Duns Scotus [211] and many others (Bellarmin, Gabr. Biel, etc.) are symbolized in the Catechismus Romanus I, 2, 15; II, 12, 3. Now we can understand the sentence in the Confutation, which reads: "But that declaration is also rejected in which they call the fault of origin, fleshly appetite *(concupiscentia)*, if by this they mean that fleshly appetite is sin, which also remains sin in a child after Baptism." Besides that the Lutherans call sin what the Papal theologians called a mere defect and weakness, these words of the Confutation indicate **two points of difference:**

(1) Roman Catholic theology confines *"concupiscentia"* too much to fleshly appetite, to a depravity that has the seat in the body. Even to Augustine concupiscence was mainly the *concupiscentia carnis;* he failed to understand it as a depravity affecting the innermost center of man, it was to him a depraved condition of the body under which the soul was suffering.[212] So the great teachers of the middle ages taught. The flesh as the means of propagation of the human race is affected and perpetuates the *concupiscentia,* the *fomes.* To the Lutherans concupiscentia was the depraved con-

---

[210] *Summa prima sec. qu.* 82, art. 1-3; qu. 85, art. 1-2.
[211] *Sent. lib. II, dist.* 30. *Qu. prim. art. III, dub.* 4.
[212] See Plitt, *ut supra* 104, Meusel, *Kirchl. Handlexikon* II, 13.

dition of *the whole man,* affecting not only man's sensual desires, but just as well and even more his higher, spiritual powers: will, reason, his heart.

(2) The other point of difference is this, that the Romanists say concupiscence, as far as it deserves the name sin, is taken away in Baptism; while the Lutherans teach that in Baptism only the guilt of Original Sin is forgiven, but concupiscence itself remains to be overcome gradually in a life of sanctification, never to be completed before death.[213]

b. Our Confessors teach that Original Sin, i. e., in its privative as well as in its positive sense, is **"truly sin";** not only called sin, but is sin in the strictest sense. How can the privative part of what was stated as the contents of Original Sin really be sin? Answer: "By being a violation of the first commandment, which is the sum of all the commandments. Not to be able to fear and love God is of itself want of conformity with God's Law; it is being otherwise than God wants us to be." [214] And regarding the positive part, "concupiscence," it is by no means anything indifferent, a mere *fomes,* an incentive for the better powers in man, but the very thing that is forbidden in the ninth and tenth commandments; it is, as the Apology calls it "enmity against God", an "habitual corruption". According to Luther, in the Smalkald Articles, this corruption is so deep and awful that man can know it only from revelation. Very convincing of this statement of the Augustana that Original Sin is *"truly sin"* are the following words of Baier: *"In respect to the*

---

[213] Here Melanchthon's Apology (Art. II, 45-51) should be carefully studied.

[214] H. E. Jacobs, *Summary of the Christian Faith,* p. 106.

*intellect* Original Sin implies a total want of spiritual light, so that it cannot know God aright, nor perfectly prescribe in what way He should be worshipped, nor embrace with a firm assent the things which have been divinely revealed; at the same time, also, there is a proneness of the intellect to form rash and false judgments concerning spiritual things; even also in those things which lie open to the light of nature, there is a certain impotency in the knowledge of God and the government of life. *In respect to the will,* Original Sin consists in a want of original holiness, or of the ability to love God above all things, to perform what the intellect has dictated aright, and to restrain the appetite in a proper manner; also, on the contrary, in that the will is inclined to sinful acts. *In respect to the sensuous appetite,* there is a want of the obedience that is due to the higher faculties, and a rushing, as if by some impulse, contrary to them, into those things which are agreeable to the senses, although prohibited by the divine law; the decision of reason either not having been waited for, or having been rejected."[215]

4. The Natural Consequences of Original Sin.

The natural consequence is that it "condemns and brings now also eternal death", a translation from the Latin: *"damnans et afferens nunc quoque aeternam mortem;"* German: *"und verdamme . . . unter ewigen Gottes Zorn."*

a. **"Eternal death,"** the very thing that God threatened should be the result of the fall: "For in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely *die*"

[215] Quoted by H. Schmid, *Doctrinal Theology,* 3d ed., p. 245.

(Gen. 2:7). This means not only temporal death, the fearful separation of body and soul (Ps. 90:7 and 11), but eternal death which "is the eternal state of the soul re-united with the body and separated from God".

**b. "Now also"** (nunc quoque). The penalty for the state of depravity was not confined to the first parents, but it holds for every one of their posterity, because they have actually inherited this condition. The establishment of the covenant of grace per se without regeneration does not release the race from the liability pertaining to Original Sin. Neither are children eo ipso free from this penalty, because they are born in Christendom, or of Christian parents.

**Note:** The question of immediate and mediate imputation was not up yet when the Augustana was written. By immediate imputation we understand the idea that we are culpable because we had actually sinned in Adam (the ἐν ᾧ in Romans 5:12 translated with "in quo", in whom, as the Vulgate does); by mediate imputation, that we are culpable because of the actual corruption that we have inherited. This distinction did not come up "until about the time of Calovius",[216] although the thought expressed in the above-mentioned translation is found in the writings of Augustine: *"nos omnes fuimus ille Adam."* (*De civ. Dei, viii,* 14). But the teaching of the Augustana is clear, that our inheritance from Adam is truly sin and draws condemnation. In the omission of the problem of imputation Dr. Krauth sees "the beautiful Scripture-like reticence of our Confession". And he says: "The doctrine of imputation, *as a theory,* belongs to scientific theology. The Augsb. Conf. presents the whole question, only in its great practical elements, as these in some form or other are grasped by faith and take part in the general belief of the Church." He adds: "We cannot recall a single passage, in any of our Confessions, in which the imputation of Adam's sin is alluded to, even in passing, as an Article of Faith." (*Conserv. Ref.* p. 382).

[216] Schmid, *Doctrinal Theology,* p. 241, 3d ed.

### 5. The Remedy of the Evil.

Condemnation and eternal death is actually incurred by all *"who are not born again"*. Latin: *"his, qui non renascantur."* German: *"alle die so nicht wiederum neu geboren werden."*

**a. Regeneration is necessary.** There is no salvation of any human creature without a change from the depraved condition into which he is born. In this doctrine, "all but Pelagians are in unity of faith with our Church. The testimony of the Church through all ages is most explicit on this point: that no unregenerate human being, infant or adult, pagan or nominal Christian, can be saved."[217] Even those who reject infant Baptism usually have some kind of explanation how children are made acceptable to God without the Sacrament which our Church regards as the ordinary means of regeneration. If they seek for no such explanation then they are outright Pelagians. As to the absolute necessity of regeneration for every human creature the testimony of Scripture is very clear. Jesus says: "Except a man (that is any one and every one) be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God." To this Dr. Krauth adds: "If our blessed Lord had, however, anticipated that there might be an effort to evade the all-comprehending force of his words, he could not more completely have made that effort hopeless than by adding as he did: 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh,' that is: every human being born naturally into our world is fleshly, and needs a new birth."[218] No matter how innocent an infant may seem as contrasted with an adult, there is the depraved nature

[217] *Conserv. Ref.*, p. 420.
[218] *Ibidem*, p. 417.

which is the same in the first budding of sin, that "seems only to lend a charm of vivacity to the little creature", as it is in the "gray-haired old reprobate". We do not here speak of the actual sins of men (they are mentioned in Art. III), but we deal in this second article of the Augustana with the *moral nature* of man which is depraved no matter how many excellencies the character of an individual may have. Let us distinguish between character and nature in this question. The young ruler whom Jesus loved had a better character than Judas, but both had the same nature, — a nature which without conversion or regeneration could not inherit the Kingdom of God.[219]

**b. The Holy Spirit is the sole author of regeneration.** The new birth shall take place "through Baptism and *The Holy Ghost*". Latin: *"per Spiritum Sanctum."* German: *"durch Heiligen Geist."*

We cannot effect the new birth ourselves, out of powers of our own. Here the adult is as helpless as the infant. The adult can with reflective consciousness desire the new life, which the infant cannot, but even such conscious desiring is the work of the Holy Spirit. "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Titus 3:5). Regeneration, the eternal processes of which are a mystery to us, can be wrought only by the Holy Spirit. "Before the true doctrine of the supreme and sole necessity of the Holy Spirit's work, as the author of regeneration, the great mystery of infant salvation passes away" (Krauth, p. 425).[220]

[219] Comp. Dr. Krauth, p. 415, 2, and 416, 8.

[220] The thought that the Holy Ghost is the *sole* author of the new birth to the exclusion of any exaltation of man's free will in spiritual

**c. Baptism is one of the ordinary means of the new birth:** "through Baptism and the Holy Ghost," *"per Baptismum", "durch die Taufe".*[221] *Is Baptism absolutely necessary?* Art. IX says that "it is necessary to salvation". But that statement does not include its *absolute* necessity. Dr. Krauth (p. 428) refers to the wording of Melanchthon's German edition of 1533, "the only edition in the German in which any variations were made by him, and which has never been charged with deviating in any respect in meaning from the original Confession". There it reads: "(Original Sin) condemns all those under God's wrath who are not born again through Baptism, and faith in Christ, through the Gospel and the Holy Ghost.."[222] With this phraseology Krauth finds himself justified in consenting to Pfaff's note on our passage under consideration: "The language here has chiefly *(maxime)* reference to *adults* who despise Baptism." This quotation from Grauer who in his day (about 1660) was styled "the shield and sword of Lutheranism" reflects the position that has always been taken in our Church: "Inasmuch as Baptism is necessary to salvation, it is carefully to be

---

things is the theme of Article XVIII of the Augustana as well as of Article II of the Formula of Concord which might be studied in connection with Art. XI (F. C.) on Predestination.

[221] It is often overlooked that the real seat of the Lutheran doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the Augsb. Conf. is not in Art. IX, the article on Baptism, but here at this place in Art. II. In fact, as we have learned from a former draft of the Confession, published by Prof. Kolde after it had been found in the Nuremberg Archive, Art. IX was originally intended to be merely a statement over against the Anabaptists that *infant* Baptism was necessary, and only later, under Melanchthon's constantly revising hand it received the shape it has now, containing more of a general doctrine on that Sacrament (Kolde, *Die aelteste Redaktion der Augsb. Konf.*, pp. 13, 51). So the statements of both articles must be held together in order to arrive at the full doctrine of the Confession regarding Baptism.

[222] *Corp. Ref.* XXVI, 725.

noted what, and of what sort, is that necessity. When the Augsburg Confession teaches that Baptism is necessary to salvation, it refers to the *ordinary mode* which God observes in saving men. For in that respect Baptism is necessary, and, indeed, in such measure that *if any one is unwilling* to be baptized, when it is in his power to obtain Baptism, he shall surely be condemned; for the contempt of the Sacrament condemns. The meaning of the Augsburg Confession, therefore, is this, that Baptism is not a thing indifferent, which any one may use at his liberty, but that it is an external means of such kind that every one embracing the Christian faith is bound to use it, if it is possible for him to obtain it. But the matter is different in a case of necessity, when any one cannot obtain it." [223]

### 5. The Errorists Rejected.

"They condemn the Pelagians and others, who deny that the vice of origin is sin, and who, to obscure the glory of Christ's merit and benefits, argue that man can be justified before God by his own strength and reason."

**a. The Pelagians** "denied that children are born with sin, that any fault in their nature is really sin, that death is the wages of sin, and that a new birth is necessary that they may have eternal life".[224] They "deny that the vice of origin is sin". Latin: *"Qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum."* German: *"so die Erbsuende nicht fuer Suende haben."* The fact

---

[223] *Praelect. Academic, in Aug. Conf.* Jena 1659, p. 818. Quoted in *Conserv. Ref.*, p. 430.

[224] M. Loy, *Augsb. Conf.*, p. 447. Compare Krauth, pp. 446-47, the quotations from the writings of Augustine.

is that they denied Original Sin altogether, admitting only actual sins. The fundamental idea of the Pelagian system was the denial of the organic connection between the individual sinful acts of men. The individual sins are isolated and crumbled to atoms. They appear like little stones gathered in a heap not producing anything while the Scriptures consider them as poisonous plants with an uncontrollable vegetation and propagation throwing their seed far around. The Pelagians deny the source of sin, the depravity. Concupiscence is to them no sin, but something innocent, a necessary part of man's original nature. And man is in perfect possession of the freedom necessary to work out his own salvation. It is evident that then the redemption of Christ was not necessary. Pelagian teaching, therefore, aims at "obscuring the glory of Christ's merit and benefits". (Latin: *"ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi."* German: *"damit sie die Natur fromm machen durch natürliche Kräfte, zu Schmach dem Leiden und Verdienst Christi."*)

**b.** What are we to understand by the words: "et alios", by "the Pelagians **and others"?**

(1) There can be no doubt that in the first place the **Semi-Pelagianism** of the Roman Catholic Church was meant (the Pelagianizing teaching of the Scholastics, especially those of the school of Duns Scotus). They also taught that concupiscence as such was no sin and, in connection with it, that man's will was sufficiently free to take the initiative in the process of conversion. Original Sin was to them pre-eminently something negative, the loss of original righteousness *(carentia justitae originalis)* which indeed caused a cer-

tain disturbance in man's powers *(inordinatio in omnibus alliis animae viribus)* and might be called *concupiscentia,* but did not mean a real corruption.[225] And from the reply in the Confutation we can see that the Papal theologians had felt that they were aimed at.

(2) It has been a matter of discussion whether also *Zwingli* was meant as belonging to these "others".[226] But it can hardly be denied in view of the whole situation. While Zwingli signed the articles of the Marburg Colloquy (1529), the fourth of which treats of Original Sin, yet in the Confession which he sent to Charles V at the Diet of Worms he says: "Whether we will, or will not, we are forced to admit that original sin, as it is in the sons of Adam, is not properly sin, . . . for it is not a deed contrary to the law. It is, therefore, properly a disease and a condition." In a letter to Urban Rhegius in Augsburg: "What could be clearer than that original sin is not sin, but a disease?" In his Book on Baptism: "We affirm that original sin is only that disease which we derive by inheritance. Therefore, original sin does not merit condemnation. How can it be that that which is disease and contagion merits the name of sin, or is sin in reality?" Dr. Krauth, who considers Zwingli an exceedingly poor theologian, remarks: "His fallacy is the ordinary one, that the character of sin is in the deed, not in the essence of moral nature, which originates the deed; that sin cannot *be,* but always must *be done.*" [227]

---

[225] Kolde, *Augsb. Konf.,* p. 25.

[226] See on this question Dr. Krauth, p. 448; Zöckler, p. 154; Plitt, p. 129.

[227] *Conserv. Ref.,* p. 449. A comprehensive review of Zwingli's doctrine of Original Sin is given in Plitt II, 129-132. Comp. Zw. *Opp.* 3, 629, 331, 635, 638, 640.

**Note:** It is of interest to recall that these words "et alios" were left out by Melanchthon in the Variata of 1540.[228]

Let us close with these words of Prof. Zoeckler: "This doctrine of Original Sin is not a doctrine of minor importance that could easily be omitted from the system of soteriological truth: a one-sided and exaggerated theory, an outgrowth of morbid and narrow conceptions regarding the moral nature and responsibility of men; but it is simply the sum of what the Scriptures teach concerning what we men are and what our relation is to God, the quintessence of the Davidic and Pauline anthropology." [229] It is a doctrine which even today all true believers of the Gospel must defend against Rationalism, false Humanism and false Protestantism.

## ARTICLE THREE.

### Of the Son of God.

Also they teach, that the Word, that is, the Son of God, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are Two Natures, the divine and the human, inseperably conjoined in one Person, one Christ, true God and true man, who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, that he might reconcile the Father unto us, and be a sacrifice, not only for

Item docent, quod Verbum, hoc est, Filius Dei, assumserit humanam naturam in utero beatae Mariae virginis, ut sint duae naturae, divina et humana in unitate personae inseparabiliter coniunctae, unus Christus, vere Deus et vere homo, natus ex virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum

[228] See the comment of Zoeckler, p. 154, and Vilmar, *Die Augsb. Conf. erklaert*, p. 57, 53 ff.

[229] *Augsb. Conf.*, p. 138.

original guilt, but for all actual sins of men. He also descended into hell, and truly rose again the third day; afterward he ascended into Heaven, that he might sit on the right hand of the Father, and forever reign, and have dominion over all creatures, and sanctify them that believe in Him, by sending the Holy Ghost into their hearts, to rule, comfort and quicken them, and to defend them against the devil and the power of sin. The same Christ shall openly come again to judge the quick and the dead, etc., according to the Apostle's Creed.

pessatis. Idem descendit ad inferos et vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad coelos, ut sedeat at dexteram Patris, et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corda eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur ac vivificet eos ac defendat adversus diabolum et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus, ut iudicet vivos et mortuos cet. iuxta Symbolum Apostolorum.

It is at once clear that there should be between Articles II, of Original Sin, and IV, of Justification, one treating of the Son of God. Jesus is the Redeemer from sin, and His work the meritorious cause of the sinner's justification. Zoeckler calls this third article of our Confession the *dynamic* center in the body of saving truths.

We find here **no errorists expressly mentioned** and enumerated. The doctrine that there are in reality two natures, a divine and a human, inseparably conjoined in the one person of the God-man, is stated as evidence of the fact that the Lutherans are in harmony with the Chalcedonian Christology as expressed in the second part of the so-called Athanasian Creed; **yet** over against the Zwinglian error care is taken to lay *special emphasis* upon the personal union existing between the

two natures of Christ, and, speaking of the object of Christ's work of atonement, our article *rejects* the Papal doctrine that the death of the Redeemer was for the original guilt only, and that for the actual sins there should be satisfaction on the part of man.

It is interesting to observe that our Confessors, in their time, did not yet regard it necessary to take notice of those who denied the divinity of Christ. The **germs of our modern negative Christology** existed already in the teachings of some of the Anabaptists, the new Samosatenes (comp. Art. I), such as Denk and, more outspoken yet, Hetzer who denied the divinity of Christ and called the relying on His atoning work *"ein Zechen auf die Kreide Christi"*. But such voices **were sporadic** yet, and a clause rejecting the errors was not regarded necessary. How different today! [230]

### 1. The Incarnation of the Son of God.

"Also they teach that the Word, that is the Son of God, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary."

**a.** In calling the Son of God "The Word" (Verbum, Logos), our Confession reminds us of **Christ's pre-existence** as taught in the prologue to the Gospel of St. John. The very same Logos by whom all things were made (John 1:3), who *was* with God in the beginning (John 1:1, comp. Gen. 1:1), is He who was incarnated and as incarnated God should be the Mediator of man's salvation.

---

[230] A rejectory clause, however, was added by Melanchthon in his first German edition of the Confession (Quarto, 1531). It read: *"Und werden verdammt allerlei Ketzereien, so diesen Artikel entgegen sind."* All other manuscripts and editions close with the words with which our accepted text closes.

**b. The initiative** in the act of incarnation was taken by the Word, that is the Son of God. The **Ebionitic error** started with the historical *man* Jesus and, denying His pre-existence, taught that He, being merely man, gradually was *adopted* as Son of God. **Nestorianism** was a sublimer form of this same error, conceiving of Christ's humanity as existing independent of His divinity, but gradually growing together with the divine nature. Socinianism later developed the leading elements of the old Ebionitic view into an elaborate system according to which Christ was a mere man, though a great prophet who was adopted as son of God in a certain sense. But **in our article** we read not that man became God, but "that the Word, that is the Son of God, *did take man's nature*" *(quod Verbum, hoc est Filius Dei, assumpserit humanam naturam)*. The Logos was the person forming subject. It was an incarnation *of the Second Person of the Trinity.*

**c. The Virgin Birth.** The act of incarnation took place "in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary". This will always remain an essential part of our Creed, because without the Virgin Birth the sinlessness of Christ cannot be maintained.

**d. The Logos assumed human nature** *(humanam naturam)*. Not a human *person* already existing, else we would have had two persons, a divine and a human, contrary to 1 Tim. 2:5. But "the Son of God did take man's *nature*" which is common to us all. Hence He redeemed not a particular man, but all men as partakers of the nature.[231]

---

[231] Our Lutheran Dogmaticians, following the Scholastics, therefore emphasize the *Anhypostasy* of Christ's human nature (i. e. His humanity for itself has no person), not thereby intending to deny His real humanity in the functions of a human soul and mind, as such are in-

## 2. Two Natures, But One Person.

"So that there are Two Natures, the divine and the human, inseparably conjoined in One Person, one Christ, true God and true man."

a. In the preceding paragraph we had what our Lutheran Dogmaticians called the *unitio personalis*: "The divine action by which the Son of God assumed human nature, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, into the unity of His own person." (Hollaz). In the paragraph now under discussion we have **the result** of this action: the personal union *(unio personalis)* as a condition which, according to Hollaz, is "a conjunction of the two natures, divine and human, subsisting in one hypostasis of the Son of God, producing a mutual and an indissoluble communion of both natures". Therefore it is also called the hypostatic union.[232]

b. This paragraph of our article reminds us of the doctrinal **decisions rendered at the two Oecumenical Councils** held at Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). The phrase "two natures, the divine and the human" maintains against the Monophysitism of Eutyches the *duality* of natures, or the distinction of nature even after the act of incarnation without confusion or

---

separable from a true man. That Christ had soul and will can be seen from Matt. 26:38 and Luke 22:42. The term (Anhypostasy) was chosen simply to guard against the Ebionitic-Nestorian way of representing Christ, or the human part of Him, as a man who was gradually adopted into a kind of a divine sonship, or whose humanity existed independent of His divinity until at the end of His career a unity was affected. On the other hand again, they used the term *Enhypostasy* to guard against the error of Apollinarianism, which denied Christ's real humanity, and they meant by it that Christ's human nature subsists in the hypostasy of the divine nature and becomes partaker of it. (See Schmid, Doctrinal Theology, pp. 295, 300, 301, and comp. Oettingen, Luth. Dogmatik II, pars. 34, 35, especially pp. 46, 73, 76, 77, 91; cf. also our foot note 121, on page 69.

[232] See Schmidt, *ut. supraa; pp.* 296, 306.

conversion, so that the divine will ever remain divine, and the human ever human; and the following phrase "inseparably conjoined in one person, one Christ, true God and true man" emphasizes against the Dyophysitism of Nestorius the *union* of the divine and human nature in Christ perfected in the act of incarnation, and that it is a real, super-natural, personal, and inseparable union, not a mere moral union, or a mystical union such consciousness of Christ is never divided; His person as holds between the believer and Christ. "The self- consists in such a union of the human and divine natures, that the divine nature is the seat of self-consciousness, and pervades and animates the human." [233]

c. In formulating the phrases under discussion the author of our article must have had in mind **the difference existing between Luther and Zwingli** on this subject. The controversy between these two Reformers regarding the Lord's Supper and Christology began some five years before, and it was in 1528 when Luther wrote his famous *"Larger Confession concerning the Lord's Supper."*[234] So while there is no mention of Zwingli in this article, it would be unthinkable that the well-known position of the Swiss Reformer should in no way have influenced the phraseology employed by Melanchthon. And it seems especially traceable in this that in our Article *there is special pains taken to reject Nestorianism.* Note the "inseparably conjoined in one Person" *(in unitate personae inseparabiliter conjunctae),* and later the "He also *(idem)* descended," etc., and "the same *(idem)* Christ shall openly come again", etc.

---

[233] Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* I, 31; 32.
[234] *Erl. Ed.* 30, 212.

(1) **Zwingli** was no ordinary Nestorian, but his Christology tended toward Nestorianism. He *accepted* the statements of the Athanasian Creed respecting the unity of the person in Christ, yet at the same time *he* so *emphasized* the fixed attributes of each nature, dividing between the predicates of both, and so tenaciously denied the participation of the one nature in the life and experiences of the other that the reality of the personal union was lost. Wherever in the Scriptures something human is ascribed to Christ's divine person, or something divine to His humanity, there he explained it away by his so-called *Alloeosis, a phrasis loquendi* which here means that while the divine nature is mentioned the human is meant and vice versa, as it is customary in the Scriptures, according to Zwingli, in a merely rhetorical way to predicate something of one nature, which, strictly speaking, can be said only of the other.[235]

(2) **Luther** emphasized the person of Christ, the *personal union* embracing the two natures. His Christology represents a *further development of the Chalcedonian Creed,* which had succeeded in establishing only a side-by-side relation between the two natures.[236] Luther taught that each of Christ's natures permeates the other (περιχώρησις) and that His humanity participates in the attributes of His divinity *(the genus majestaticum* in the *Communicatio Idiomatum* of the Formula of Concord).

**The occasion** for discussing this problem was the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper, which was rejected by Zwingli. Yet Luther's Chris-

---

[235] Plitt, *Einleitung* II, 89-93. Tschackert, *Entestehung,* 246. Formula of Concord, p. 681.

[236] Tschackert, *ut supra,* 321.

tology **was not** a mere invention for the purpose of simply furnishing a support for the doctrine of the Real Presence, as Schaff and many others have viewed it;[237] no, *what Luther wanted to establish with his strong emphasis upon the personal union was nothing less than the full value of the atonement wrought by Christ, the God-man.* If the humanity of Christ is so separated from His divinity that there is no real communion, no communication of the divine attributes to the humanity, then there is no real validity in the sufferings of Christ. Luther: "If the devil should persuade me that in Christ a mere man was crucified and died for me, then I would be lost, but if I can attach to it the importance that Christ died for me as real God and man then such doctrine will outweigh and destroy sin, death, hell and all misery." And again, with reference to Zwingli's theory: "Beware, beware, I tell you, of the Alloeosis, it is a mask of the devil! For in the end it constructs a Christ, after which I would not like to be a Christian; a Christ whose sufferings and life do not mean more than that of any ordinary saint."[238]

Zwingli, from his standpoint of feeling that each nature should be viewed apart from the other, that there can be no real union of the divine with the human *(finitum non est capax infiniti),* could not appreciate Luther's position, but thought that it involved concessions to Docetism, not only of the sublimer form as represented in Monophysitism, nay even the grosser kind as found among the Gnostics. He wrote: "Be on your guard, Luther, and watch, Marcion threatens to break

---

[237] *Creeds of Christendom* I, 288.

[238] Compare the exhaustive treatment of this subject in Plitt, *Einleitung* II, 79-102, in particular p. 95.

into your garden."[239] This, of course, was exaggeration as far as it had reference to Luther. But this may be admitted that in the Lutheran Church, following the example of Luther himself, more stress has been laid on the personal union than on the distinguishing between the two natures. The theology of Brenz especially, in discussing the states of Christ, went too far in the direction of Docetism.

It must never be forgotten that here we are at an unfathomable mystery. Lutheran theology as it formally found expression in Art. VIII of the Formula of Concord does not aim at solving this "mystery of Godliness" (1 Tim. 3:16), but, jealously guarding the divinity of Christ by teaching the participation of His humanity in the attributes of His divinity, endeavors to avoid the errors of Monophysitism as well as Nestorianism.[240]

### 3. The States of Christ.

**a. The state of humiliation** is described with the following words of our article: "who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried." Five parts are enumerated, the same as in the Apostles' Creed. The thought to be emphasized here is that *not only man in Christ suffered this, but the God-man.* The Logos who "did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary" and there united Himself with the humanity into one person experienced these acts of humiliation in the human nature. Neither was the suffering of the God-man a Gnostic delusion;

---

[239] Zw. *opp.* 2 b, 65-76.

[240] Comp. Rohnert, *Luth. Dogmatik,* p. 298, and Formula of Concord, 627, 18; 635, 60, 62; 642, 89.

our article says: "truly suffered," and in the German text we read: *"wahrhaftig geboren."*

**b. The state of exaltation** begins with the words: "He also descended into hell."

**"He also"** *(idem)*, that means *the same person of which has been spoken,* the God-man who by suffering and death wrought the work of atonement. This seems to us a prophetic **anticipation** of what later became a stated doctrine in the ninth article of the Formula of Concord, directed against those who taught that Christ's descent, being a part of His humiliation, simply meant the intense sufferings of His soul on the cross;[241] or that while His body was lying in the grave His soul was suffering in hell for the purpose of completing the work of atonement.[242] Over against these views the F. C. says: "We simply believe that the **entire person,** God and man, *after the burial* descended into hell, *conquered the devil,* destroyed the power of hell, and took from the devil all his might." Our article in the Augustana plainly makes Christ's descent an act of His exaltation, and the words *idem* plainly points to the *whole* Christ as having descended into hell.[243]

**"And truly rose again the third day."** Christ's resurrection is the evidence of His victory over death and devil (Rev. 1:18; Rom. 14:9), the guarantee of our redemption (1 Cor. 15:17). Note here again the word "truly" *(vere resurrexit),* in the German text: *"wahrhaftig."* In connection with the "He also" at the beginning of the sentence (Latin *idem* — the same) we

---

[241] So Calvin, and compare question 44 in the Heidelberg Catechism.

[242] So A. Aepin, whose doctrine was the occasion for inserting article IX into the Formula of Concord.

[243] For a lucidly arranged review of this whole problem see Rohnert, *Luth. Dogmatik* 306-311.

have an emphasis of the truth that **His body was included in the resurrection** (Luke 24:39; John 20:27; Luke 24:41-43; John 21:12-15). The "truly rose again" excludes all spiritualism as to the resurrection of Christ.

"Afterward He ascended into heaven, that he might sit on the right hand of the Father, and forever reign," etc. What is to be understood by the **"right hand of the Father"?** In connection with the doctrine of the Ubiquity this question became a much discussed problem between the Lutherans and Reformed. To meet the objection of Zwingli, that Christ's body as being confined locally to the "right hand of God" could not be present in the Supper, Luther taught in his *"Grosses Bekenntnis vom Abendmahl,"* published 1528, that the right hand of God "is no fixed place in heaven . . . but is nothing else than **the almighty power of God** which fills heaven and earth."[244] Gerhard: "The right hand of God is not a bodily, circumscribed, limited, definite place, but it is the infinitive power of God and His most efficacious majesty in heaven and earth; it is that most efficacious dominion by which God preserves and governs all things."[245]

The evident **intention of our article** is to emphasize that Christ is a *living* Saviour. He is not like Mohammed who invented a religion and then passed away without being more to his followers than a person that had once lived, but He rose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, "that He might sit on the right hand of

---

[244] F. C. VIII, 28. Comp. quotation from Luther in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, p. 287, note 2.

[245] See Schmid, *Doctrinal Theol.*, par. 38, note 27. Concerning what the Lutheran Church teaches on the basis of this conception of the Ubiquity compare Krauth, *Conserv. Ref.* 131: Christ's presence in the Supper is not a local, but a sacramental presence.

the Father, and forever reign, and have dominion over all creatures, and sanctify them that believe in Him, by sending the Holy Ghost into their hearts, to rule, comfort and quicken them, and to defend them against the devil and the power of sin".

The closing paragraph of our article says: **"The same Christ** shall openly come again to judge the quick and the dead, etc., according to the Apostles' Creed." The doctrine of Christ's return to judgment is treated in a separate article (XVII). The special feature of this statement in Article II is indicated by the words: "the same Christ" *(idem Christus,* German: *der selbige Herr Christus).* It is co-ordinate with the words above: *"He* also descended." *The point to be made* is this: "The Christ who shall openly come again for judgment is "the same" of whom we heard before, the Logos who became incarnated, the one Christ, true God and man who has two natures, the divine and the human, inseparably conjoined in one person. The idea of the personal union is the leading thought all through this article, also in the enumeration of the parts in the doctrine of the states of Christ.

### 4. Satisfactio Vicaria.

**a. The doctrine of vicarious atonement** is plainly taught in this article. Christ, the God-man, experienced the humiliation in order "that He might reconcile the Father unto us, and be a sacrifice" *(ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem et hostia esset).* It is not man who has to be reconciled to God so that he might give up his enmity (ἔχθρα) against God, his distrust of God — so was first taught by Abelard, and later more elaborately by Socinianism, and in our day by Ritchl and his follow-

ers — no, **it is God who has to be reconciled.** The German text speaks of God's wrath, *"Gottes Zorn"* (ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ) to be appeased, *"versöhnet"*. **Anselm's theory was one-sided** in that it spoke of an *active* obedience only. In addition to this, which our article has in the words, "that He might reconcile the Father", also the *passive* obedience of Christ is mentioned: "be a sacrifice" (German: *"dass er ein Opfer waere"*).

**b. Christ made satisfaction for all sin,** "not only for original guilt, but for all actual sins of men" *(non tantem pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis);* German: *Nicht allein fuer die Erbsuende, sondern auch fuer alle anderen Suenden.* It was **taught in the Roman Catholic Church** that Christ had wrought His work of satisfaction for original sin only, but not for the sins committed daily; for these it was necessary for man to atone by special efforts of his own and by the priest's unbloody repetition of the bloody sacrifice of Christ in the Mass. Again this semi-Pelagian doctrine, invented as a support of the hierarchical system, the sentence of our article was directed.

## ARTICLE FOUR.

### Of Justification.

Also they teach, that men can not be Justified before God by their own strength, merits or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by His death, hath made

Item docent, quod homines non possint iustificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis aut operibus, sed gratis iustificentur propter Christum per fidem, quum credunt se in gratiam recipi et peccata remitti propter Christum, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem im-

satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness in his sight. Rom. 3 and 4.

putat Deus pro iustitia coram ipso, Rom. 3 et 4.

This article represents **the center of all doctrines** dealt with in the Confession. In an exclusively historical treatment of the contents of the Augustana, as has been presented us by G. Plitt in his *"Entstehungsgeschichte des Evangelischen Lehrbegriffes bis zum Augsburger Bekenntnisse"*,[246] this fourth article of Justification would be the first to come under discussion. The doctrinal system of the Lutheran Church can be appreciated only from the soteriological point of view. The **leading question for Luther** was not: Who is God and what do we know of Him? but: How can I come to God and be assured that He is my Father? All other questions should cluster about and receive their light from this one fundamental article of Justification of the sinner before God. *Father Aegidius,* the spiritual counsellor of Emperor Charles V, had caught the real essence of the Confession, as publicly read in Augsburg, when he said to Melanchthon with special reference to its doctrine of justification: "You have a theology which can be appreciated only if one prays much." How *Luther himself* valued this article can be seen from the following words found in the Smalcald Articles (Part II, Art. 1): "Of this article nothing can be yielded or surrendered, even though heaven and earth and all things should sink to ruin. . . . And upon this article all things depend, which, against the Pope, the devil and the whole world, we teach and practice. Therefore we must be sure concerning this doctrine and

[246] Second part of his *"Einleitung in die Augustana,"* Erlangen, 1868.

not doubt; for otherwise all is lost, and the Pope and devil and all things against us gain the victory and suit.[247] And in the Formula of Concord we find these words: "This article concerning Justification by Faith (as the Apology says) is the chief in the entire Christian doctrine, without which no poor conscience has any firm consolation, or can know aright the riches of the grace of Christ, as Dr. Luther also has written: 'If only this article remain in view pure, the Christian Church also remains pure, and is harmonious and without all sects; but if it does not remain pure, it is not possible to resist any error or fanatical spirit.'"[248] No one can read even the second part of the Augsburg Confession dealing with the abuses without being impressed with the fact that the leading principle in every direction was to reform whatever tended to obscure the precious doctrine of justification by faith.

This fourth article is very brief, but to guard against misconstructions of this article, as well as the fifth on New Obedience, Melanchthon added Article XX on Faith and Good Works, and the Apology has lengthy expositions on this subject. The second chapter of the Apology, pp. 84 to 103 in the Book of Concord, deals with Justification, while the third chapter, pp. 104 to 161, treats of "Love and the Fulfilling of the Law", thus offering an exposition of Article VI of our Confession. These parts must be **studied together** with a careful observation of the essential discriminations made by our Reformers in re-establishing the doctrine of the Scriptures regarding Justification and Sanctification and the relation of both. It must never be forgotten that the

[247] Book of Concord, 312.
[248] Book of Concord, 571.

error of **confounding Justification and Sanctification** is not confined to the Roman Catholic Church, but in grosser or sublimer forms ever has been maintained by such as claimed to be Protestants. We mention Schwenkfeld, Osiander, Nitzsch, Mueller, Beck, and the pietistic, mystical and rationalistic tendencies in general. The Formula of Concord also, in Article III ("Of the Righteousness of Faith before God") and Article IV ("Of Good Works"), has valuable contributions on the subject. And even the following articles, V "Of Law and Gospel" and VI of "The Third Use of the Law", can be studied with profit in this connection.

But now to our articles under discussion. It contains a *negative* part which declares how men cannot be justified before God, and a *positive* part setting forth how this justification takes place.

### I. Renunciation of the Error.

"Also they teach, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits or works." This had reference to the false teaching of the Roman Church, the teaching that justification is a gradual process of growth in righteousness and dependent upon the efforts of man. This error which obscured the promises of the Gospel and thus left the troubled sinner without consolation was of long growth.

**1. The History of the Roman Error in the Church.**

**a. To trace it** back to its first source we must begin with the *natural man* and his conception of the way to salvation. The doctrine of justification by grace through faith is one of pure revelation. Human reason outside of revelation has always thought and will always

think of salvation as something to be acquired by man's "own strength, merits or works". It is this that Melanchthon has in mind when he in the Apology protests against confounding Christ and the Gospel with "the ethics of Aristotle". "We see books extant," says Melanchthon, "in which certain sayings of Christ are compared with the sayings of Socrates, Zeno and others, as though Christ had come for the purpose of delivering certain laws, through which we might merit the remission of sins, as though we did not receive this gratuitously, because of His merits".[249] Luther used to say: "Nobody will become a theologian except he undertakes it without Aristotle." The natural man, as untouched by the renewing powers of God's spirit, will always believe as did the Roman Church at the time when our Reformers rose that men can "be justified before God by their own strength, merits or works."

b. One of the most **remarkable** things to be observed in the history of the Church is, that *the Pauline doctrine of justification by grace through faith was lost sight of almost immediately after the death of the Apostles.* As if this doctrine was too great and too sublime to be kept in clear vision even by those who with so much earnestness desired to be followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. To offer a guide for this observation we call attention to a paragraph in the Church History of Kurtz treating of "the theology of the Post-Apostolic Age". He says: "Among the Church Fathers of this age we find an unconscious deterioration of the original doctrine of Paul revealing itself as a smoothing down and belittling or as an ignoring of the genuine Paulinism. . . . They fail to appreciate the pedagogical

[249] Book of Concord, p. 86 (15).

significance of the Mosaic law (Gal. 3:24) . . . Even the Gospel itself is regarded as a new and higher law . . . and hence the task of the Son of God is pre-eminently conceived as that of a divine teacher and law-giver. In this way there was impressed upon the Old Catholic Church as it grew up out of Pauline Gentile Christianity a legalistic moral tendency that was quite foreign to the original Paulinism, and the righteousness of faith taught by the Apostle when represented as obedience to the 'new law' passed over again unobserved into a righteousness of works."[250]

**c. Even Augustine,** much as he has contributed towards a more Scriptural appreciation of sin and grace, *failed to take justification to be an exclusively external forensic act of God* as clearly represented by Paul (Rom. 3:20; Gal. 3:11), but he took this term to mean something subjective, constituting men internally and essentially righteous. He said that God justified man not only *(non solum)* by forgiving his sins, but by more and more infusing the divine righteousness into his life.[251] From this time on we can observe the fatal confounding of Justification with Sanctification in the Church.

**d. The scholastics of the medieval age** built upon Augustine, but developed the doctrine more in the direction of merits on man's part. Going beyond Augustine, *Thomas Aquinas* taught that for receiving justifying grace a certain preparation on the part of man was necessary. This was later sanctioned by the *Council*

---

[250] Kurtz, (Engl. ed. 1888.) § 30, sec. 2.

[251] For a closer study of the position of Augustine in this point compare R. Seeberg, second (German) edition of his *History of Doctrines* in four volumes, vol I, pp. 492-98; also Loofs in *Realencyclopaedie,* vol. II, p. 280, lines 50-60; Meusel, *Kirchl. Handlexikon,* vol. I, 251; Plitt *ut supra* 18-23; Valentine in *Holman Lectures,* first series, p. 109.

*of Trent* when it decreed that there should be in man "the voluntary reception of grace and divine gifts". More in detail the common teaching in the Roman Catholic Church is thus: (1) Grace excites the half-dormant natural powers in man. (2) Man with his powers, supported by grace, believes that all divine revelation is true. (3) He fears God because of his sin. (4) He hopes that God will have mercy on him for Christ's sake. (5) He begins to love God as the source of all justice, and (6) to hate sin. Thus (7) he decides to lead a new life. Now justification begins as an infusion of divine grace, first with the forgiveness of sins. So this "self-preparation" was necessary for the forgiveness of sins. After, by the remission of sins, an infusion of grace has taken place, and a principle *(habitus)* has been established, the process of justification goes on still further, namely through the exercise of the infused principle, or through the works which follow that principle. The definition finally adopted at the Council of Trent was this: "Justification is not remission of sins merely *(non est sola peccatorum remissio)*, but also sanctification and the renewal of the inner man by the voluntary reception of grace and divine gifts, so that he who was unrighteous is made righteous, and the enemy becomes a friend and an heir according to the hope of eternal life."[252]

**2. What was the Religious Interest of our Reformers in rejecting this Doctrine?**

a. *With this doctrine it would be impossible to exclude, as Scripture does, the merits of man from that by which he is actually saved.* Says **Paul:** "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves:

[252] *Con. Trid. Sess. 6, cap. 7.*

it is the gift of God: Not by works, lest any man should boast." (Eph. 2:8-9). And again: "If by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace." (Rom. 11:6). And again Paul says: "Being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." (Rom. 3:24). There is no way of getting around these statements of Scripture which could be multiplied indefinitely.

"Neither as supplementary to the work of Christ, nor in any combination with it, do the Scriptures tolerate a notion of human merit in the foundation of the sinner's Justification." This was felt by the teachers of the medieval age, and therefore we see them laboring to explain away the merit from at least a part of the work demanded of man in the process of his justification. The **artificial distinction** between a *meritum de congruo* and *a meritum de condigno* was invented.[253] We heard before of things that man has to do preparatory for justification, before the infusion of grace can begin. Here, they teach, we can claim for man not more than a *meritum de congruo,* it is meet and fitting that God should reward the efforts of man, because without such work of self-preparation Justification could not follow; yet it is **no real merit,** because with it man cannot earn his justification in the sense that he would have the right to demand it. But after the infusion of grace has begun we can speak of a *meritum de condigno,* a merit of worthiness, because the work following grace deserves everlasting life of due debt and worthiness.

---

[253] By Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa,* see *Quaest.* 114, art. 6. This was generally adopted. Comp. Seeberg, *Hist. of Doc.* II, p. 123. Plitt II, 24.

This whole distinction is an **invention of the human mind,** is unscriptural. Even our good works in the life of sanctification, which we say must of necessity follow the act of Justification, are in no sense meritorious, as Jesus says: "When ye have done all these things which are commanded you, say, we are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." (Luke 17: 10).

b. The Roman doctrine was to be rejected *because of the uncertainty in which it leaves the penitent sinner regarding his salvation.* If Justification is not an objective act of God, an instantaneous act declaring the sinner righteous, but if it is made to consist in a subjective holiness which is completed in degrees, then there can be no certain assurance of adoption by God. Yet **Paul speaks clearly of such assurance:** "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." (Rom. 5: 1).

*Augustine,* who emphasized justification as a growth in holiness and believing, as we do, that the highest ideal in a sanctified life can never be reached in this body of sin, taught consistently that man could never be absolutely sure of his salvation.[254] Also *Thomas Aquinas* taught that an actual certainty of salvation is not attainable, and that "the possession of grace can only be inferred *conjecturaliter* from good works."[255] No wonder that *Luther* could find no rest for his troubled soul until he began to understand the doctrine that justification is by grace alone, through faith. This brought assurance and peace.

---

[254] Comp. Plitt, p. 21.

[255] *Summa, quest.* 112, a. 5.

The entire Roman Catholic system is a **"theology of doubt".** *Adam Moehler,* a celebrated writer of the Catholic Church and a pious man, once said that he always felt uneasy when coming in touch with an individual who claimed that he, by believing in Christ, had the assurance of the forgiveness of his sins. The spiritual independency of such a man from the Church as the proper institution to offer the guarantee, appears to him as something demoniacal.

c. The Roman doctrine was also to be rejected because it is the **fruitful source of many corrupting errors:** "The *merit of work and ascetic self-culture* became the very soul of the monastic seclusions, pilgrimages, penances, and the circle of perverted and perverting will-worship, which at once deformed the Christian life and disgraced the Church of that day." (Valentine). Here the unscriptural doctrine of the *consilia evangelica* has its root, the doctrine namely that man may do something in excess of what God has the right to demand of him and thus merit special grace, yea, merit grace which is stored up in a *"treasure of superabundant works"* and applied for the benefits of others. This again was the foundation on which the monstrous *system of indulgences* was erected. So the pernicious influence of the Roman doctrine of justification could be traced in every direction.

## II. Statement of the True Doctrine.

**1. The Source of Justification.** Text: "freely justified".

It is the **grace** (χάρις) of God. Nobody has a right to demand the forgiveness of his sins. "Being justified *freely* by his grace" (Rom. 3:24). In Romans 5:15

it is called "the free gift" (χάρισμα), and a "gift by grace" (δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι). It was a settled matter with our Reformers that Justification which is identical with the forgiveness of sins (see under II, 3, below) has its source exclusively in the grace of God, in His eternal compassion with the sinner.

In the technical language of theology the grace of God is called the **efficient cause** of justification *(causa efficiens)*. Systematic theology enumerates **four causes of Justification:** (1) God's grace and mercy as the *efficient* cause; (2) the merits of Christ as the *meritorious* cause; (3) the means of grace as the *middle-cause on the part of God,* or the hand with which he gives; (4) *faith as the middle-cause on the part of man,* or the hand with which he receives.[256] The third of these causes is not mentioned in this article, but is thoroughly treated in other articles (in V. IX, X, XIII). Of the fourth "cause" we shall treat below, under 4.

In this paragraph we are discussing *grace as the efficient cause,* as that which is prompting God, by which He is moved to justify man in forgiving his sins. The **sense of this term "grace"** as used in this connection must be clearly distinguished. The Papists and others who cannot appreciate justification as a judicial, forensic act (cf. II, 3, below) also use the word "grace", but they attach with it a meaning which Scripture never gives to it in connection with the idea of justification. They take "grace" to mean a quality in us,[257] a gift, an ability worked by God in man to love Him and to do

---

[256] Here special care has to be used that we do not lose ourselves into Synergism. It may be best to avoid the use of 4 altogether.

[257] *"Qualitatem aliquam in nobis"*, Melanchthon in his *Loci De Gratia.*

all kinds of good works.[258] There are passages of Scripture where "grace" is to be taken in that sense, but here it can not be so taken. Here it means as Melanchthon rightly interprets it: *"favor."* God is inclined toward us with love and tender mercy. Praise to God that it is "grace" *in this sense,* which is the efficient cause of our justification. If justification was depending upon any work on our part, if grace was, as Melanchthon in the Apology quotes his opponents to believe, " a habit, inclining us the more readily to love God," then we would never know how much of such love was required to secure justification. With our doctrine we do not build upon graces and habits in ourselves, but upon the inexhaustible mercy and grace of the eternal Triune God.

**2. The Ground of Justification,** or the meritorious cause *(causa meritoria).* We refer to the text in our article: "for Christ's sake" (*propter Christum*). This expression occurs twice in German: *"dass Christus fuer uns gelitten hat".* Again: "who, by his death, has made satisfaction for our sins". Among many passages of Scripture offering the basis for these statements we quote Rom. 3:24-25: "Justified freely by the grace of God, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God has set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood."

*a. Active and passive obedience.* The **passive obedience** of Christ only is mentioned in the above quotations from our article, because it presents the most central conception of the atonement. By His vicarious sufferings culminating in His death and the yielding up of His spirit He suffered what men should have suffered

[258] See Apology, Jacobs p. 86, 17.

and so He atoned for their sins in their stead. The **active obedience,** (Christ's perfect fulfillment of the Law as of meritorious importance for us), was not mentioned in the Augsburg Confession, because this doctrine, in the form in which we now have it in our Catechisms and works on Dogmatics, was of later development. True, Luther already taught it, as can be seen from his sermons in the *Kirchenpostille,*[259] but the Formula of Concord, driven by the Osiandrian controversy, was the first of our Confessions to make statements regarding it (Chap. III). And so we find the following: "Therefore, His obedience, not only in suffering and dying, but also that He in our stead was voluntarily subject to the Law, and fulfilled it by His obedience, is imputed to us for righteousness, so that, on account of this complete obedience, which by deed and suffering, in life and in death, He rendered His heavenly Father for us, God forgives our sins, regards us godly and righteous, and eternally saves us."[260]

We should **guard ourselves against going too far in mechanical distinctions** between active and passive obedience, for instance as suggested, that the *latter* were the source of the remission of our sins and the *former* the cause of our Justification, etc. It is a characteristic trait of our old Protestant dogmaticians to analyze and view separately things which internally belong together, with the result, it is true, of making everything very clear. *Qui bene distinguit, bene docet.* But, as Frank in his classical work on the Formula of Concord shows, this Confession does not aim at such formal distinc-

---

[259] Erl. Ed. VII, 282.
[260] Book of Concord, p. 572.

tions.[261] And indeed, the Lord's active obedience is at the same time a suffering, and His passive obedience the free act of one who could say: "I lay down my life, that I might take it again. . . . I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again." (John 10: 17-18).

**The truth expressed** in this distinction between active and passive obedience lies in the following twofold consideration: (1) Did Christ become man exclusively for our sake, then His *whole* life, not only His death, must mean something for us. And (2) Our conscience tells us that we do not only stand under the Law that is *violated* which calls for atonement, but also under the Law that is *in power* which must be kept. In view of our shortcomings after as well as before our justification there is a great comfort in the doctrine of the meritorious effect of Christ's active obedience.[262]

*b. Christ is our justification* **according to both of His natures.** This is *not stated explicitly* in our article which simply says: "for Christ's sake" *(propter Christum)*. However, it ought to be regarded as *included,* because Christ as God-man has a divine and a human nature and both participated in the obedience by which our redemption was wrought.

It was left to the **Formula of Concord** to go more into details on this subject. *Osiander* had taught that we are justified by Christ's righteousness according to His divine nature alone, while by another theologian *(Stancar)* the view was represented that by His human nature alone Christ is our righteousness.

---

[261] Frank, *Theologie der Konkordienformel* II, p. 31. Comp. Meusel V, 27.

[262] Compare Schmid p. 352-56. Martensen, *Dogmatics,* § 161. A. v. Oettingen, *Dogmatik,* II (II) p. 218.

Both of these views were wrong. The **position of Osiander is of special interest** and gave occasion for a violent controversy between himself and Flacius. Osiander taught that "the indwelling of the divine nature of Christ, with which at the same time the Triune God dwells in us, is our righteousness before God".[263] "When we are united with Christ by faith, we are 'overwhelmed and filled' with divine righteousness. And although sin indeed still clings to us, yet it is only as an impure drop compared with the whole pure ocean, and, on account of Christ's righteousness which is within us, God will not regard it."[264] The error of Osiander consisted in this that he, as Dr. Valentine so lucidly states, "confounded the true, essential, unchangeable righteousness of the Son of God, in His true natural and essential divinity, with that vicarious work which forms the meritorious righteousness provided in his obedience and death, and imputed to the sinner."[265] The basis for our Justification is not the righteousness which Christ has as the second person of the Holy Trinity, but it is the righteousness which He, according to both natures, merited through His work. **Stancar's view** that Christ is our righteousness according to His human nature alone left out of consideration that the participation of the divine nature in offering us the basis for our Justification is necessary to secure the efficacy, value, and perfection of His redeeming work. The Formula of Concord treats of this in Chapter III, "The Right-eousness of Faith before God".

---

[263] Seeberg, *Hist. of Doctr.* II, 371.
[264] Ibidem.
[265] *Holman Lect.*, p. 123.

**3. The true Meaning of Justification.**[266] It is a **governmental act, an act of declaration** *(justum pronunciare, declarare)*, not as the Roman Church takes it to be: an act of making man righteous, qualitatively *(justum reddere, infusio justitiae habitualis seu sanctitatis inhaerentis)*. It is not a *subjective process* in man, but an *objective act* of God declaring the sinner just. God regards the sinner just notwithstanding the fact that he is actually sinful. This judicial meaning of Justification is **fully substantiated** by an exegetical investigation of the respective terms employed in the Old as well as in the New Testament. The Hebrew hizdick and the Greek δικαιοῦν are to be taken in the declarative sense whenever they have reference to the Justification of the sinner before God. Our article refers to the entire argument of the third and fourth chapters of Paul to the Romans. *A negative and a positive side are to be distinguished:*

**a. Negative:** a non-imputation or forgiveness of sins. See the text in our article: *"et peccata remitti"* ("that their sins are forgiven"); German *"dass wir Vergebung der Suenden bekommen", "dass uns um seinetwillen die Suende vergeben"*. The forgiveness of sins is always mentioned together with justification in our Confessions. And this is done on the basis of the Scriptures. Rom. 4:7-8, quoting the words of David: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin."

**b. Positive:** in our text the word "justified" *(justificentur)*; German: "Gerechtigkeit fuer Gott," "fuer Gott gerechtwerden"; and the closing phrase:

[266] Comp. Formula of Concord, 572 (17).

"This faith God imputes for righteousness in His sight." There are two thoughts contained in these quotations expressing the positive side of justification:

**(1) The relation between justification and the forgiveness of sins.** It is not merely pardon that the sinner needs. "Being forgiven, he is not left in the condition of a criminal merely released from punishment. . . . Divested alike of his own sins and righteousness, he is not to be held henceforth as miserable and poor and naked, but as clothed in spotless garments and made right indeed." Pardon takes away from the sinner what he has, but justification gives him what he has not — the righteousness of Christ.

**(2) The other thought to which our attention is called is the idea of imputation:** "This faith God *imputes* for righteousness in His sight." Sometimes it is the "righteousness of Christ" and at other times it is our "faith" that is said to be imputed to us, but that involves no contradiction. For "faith" is here meant only as apprehending and appropriating the "righteousness of Christ". The phrase chosen in our article has special reference to Rom. 6:3-6: "For what says the Scripture? Abraham believed God and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. . . . But to him that worketh, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Even as David also described the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works." Our article puts the emphasis upon the idea of imputation. If we believe on Christ then His righteousness is *imputed* to us. We are regarded righteous notwithstanding our actual sinfulness. The **Roman Church and those of similar position** in this question cannot appreciate such

an "imputed" righteousness. They think that such doctrine may satisfy the head, but cannot satisfy the heart. Adam Moehler says: "The Protestant theory of justification expects of God to regard an Ethiopian as white." But this is not the case, for in our doctrine of justification we do not consider the sinner as he is in himself, but we consider him in his relation to and in his union with Christ. This leads us to a closer study of

**4. Faith as the Subjective Cause of Justification.** Text: "through faith" *(per fidem);* German: *"durch den Glauben."* It is the *instrumental or apprehending cause* of Justification.

**a. What kind of faith is meant?** Article XX says: "Faith doth not only signify a knowledge of the history, which may be in the wicked, and in the devil," though such knowledge *(notitia)* is the basis of faith. No, the faith which in our fourth article is meant as the instrumental cause of justification *(per fidem),* as the middle cause on man's part, is, as Article XX says: "a faith which believeth, not only the history, but also the effect of the history, to-wit, the article of the remission of sins; namely, that by Christ we have grace, righteousness and remission of sins." It means "a trust, which doth comfort and lift up disquieted minds". Even our brief fourth article offers a fitting description of what justifying faith is: "when they believe that they are received into favor and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake".[267]

**b. Such faith in itself is a living and transforming one.** That is the theme of the last part of

[267] We keep in mind that faith is the gift of God and that therefore we cannot speak of faith as a *cause* for justification in the same sense as we speak of Christ as the meritorious cause.

*Article XX.* Good works must follow. The *Apology* says: "We speak of faith as being not an idle fancy, but a new light, life, and power in the heart, that renews the heart and disposition, transforms man into a new creature."[268]

c. But while this belongs to the nature of faith, **it is not the sanctifying character of faith that justifies us.** We must guard against making faith a meritorious work. Our article simply says: *per* fidem, *through* faith; not *propter* fidem, *for the sake of* faith. We must never forget these words of our article: "freely justified for Christ's sake through faith" *(propter Christum, per fidem).*

d. If we are sure to understand by "faith" nothing more than the receiving organ, a hand stretched out to God in confidence that He, for Christ's sake, will fill it with the gift of grace, then we do not object to our Reformers who, by employing the *exclusive particles* and especially the particle *"alone" (allein durch den Glauben),* jealously guarded the purity of the relation of faith to justification. In Romans 3:28, Paul says: "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the Law." Luther, in his translation of the Bible into German, took the liberty to say "by faith *alone,*" which he justified by the clear meaning of this passage. Bengel, in his Gnomen, defends it by a simple demonstration of arithmetic. He says: Two things are here considered:

| | |
|---|---|
| faith and works..... | 2 |
| works are excluded..... | 1 |
| faith only remains ..... | 1 |

[268] See also Formula of Concord, 573 (19-20).

With fine sarcasm against the critics of Luther he adds: Two, take away one leaves one.

Here we close the discussion of this fourth article of the Augustana. We will now be prepared to see how Article IV is the central article of all the rest of the Confession. The larger space which we have given to it will enable us to be very brief in Article VI on the New Obedience, and particularly in Article XX (Faith and Good Works) which now needs to be presented in outline only.

## ARTICLE FIVE.

### How Justifying Faith is Obtained.

(Of the Office of the Ministry.)

That we may obtain this faith, the Office of Teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted. For through the Word and Sacraments as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given, who worketh faith where and when it pleaseth God in them that hear the Gospel, to-wit, that God, not for own merits, but for Christ's sake, justified those who believe that they are received into favor for Christ's sake.

Ut hanc consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta tamquam per instrumenta donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis, qui audiunt evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita, sed propter Christum iustificet hos, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi.

They condemn the Anabaptists and others, who think that the Holy Ghost cometh to men without the external Word, through their own preparations and works.

Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum praeparationes et opera.

**1. The Leading Thought through this Article** is not indicated by the customary superscription: *"Of the Office of the Ministry."* Of the ministry is here spoken only in an incidental way. The real theme under discussion in this article is the question, *how justifying faith is obtained.* In Article IV we learned that justification takes place "through faith". Now we will naturally ask how this faith is obtained. The answer is: Through the means of grace. These, of course, must be administered, and so the ministry is mentioned as the office charged with their administration. On the ministry *per se,* that is on special features of this office, we read in Article XIV which discusses the regular call and in Article XXVIII where we are told of the ministers' sphere of authority. In our article the leading thought is that **justifying faith is obtained through Word and Sacraments.** Feuerlin suggested as superscription over this article: "On the origin and the causes of faith;" Aurifaber: "The need of the preaching for justification;" Chemnitz: "Of the means for salvation."

**2. There was, however, a Reason why the Office of the Ministry was Mentioned right at the beginning of this Article.** We must not forget that Melanchthon, in writing the Confession, was always moved by conciliatory interests with respect to the Roman Church. The Romanists insisted upon the priesthood as the means for imparting saving grace. Now the position had been taken in Article IV that *justification is obtained through faith* which is essentially confidence of the sinner in God's forgiving grace. This assertion sounded *very subjective* to Romanistic ears. So Melanchthon here prefers not to mention the

*preaching* (as he might have done on the basis of Romans 10:17), but rather the **organ** of it, the ministerial office. This would be received with more favor.[269]

**3. And yet Melanchthon skillfully avoids the Romanistic Conception of the Ministry.** He calls it an *office,* not an *order.* It is a ministry *(ministerium),* not a priesthood *(sacerdotium).* It is not an institution of rulership over the Church *(regimen ecclesiae)* so that it is left to the good will of the priest to mediate for the one and to refuse with the other. Let us not overlook that the power of the keys is not even mentioned here. Of this we read in Articles XXV and XXVIII as only one part of the minister's calling and as not of equal importance with the office of preaching the Gospel.[270]

**4. It is an "office of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments".** Two things exclusively are mentioned here as constituting the work of the minister: teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments. There is **no mention of a third thing** as co-ordinated with these two, namely a commission to lead and to guide. This also belongs to the minister's work; only that it is not co-ordinated to the two characteristics mentioned, but subordinated. The minister is not a pastor *besides* preaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments, but he is pastor *through* the use of these means, and here, with certain provisions, he is even called to rule. Of this part of his work we read in Articles XXVIII and XXV.[271]

---

[269] Compare Zoeckler, *Augsburg Confession,* p. 191.

[270] Book of Concord, p. 61, 8. Zoeckler, pp. 192, 251.

[271] These last remarks invite to a comparison with Art. VII. Here the Unity of the Church is the subject of discussion, and the statement

**5. The Ministry is called an "Office of teaching the Gospel," etc.** The **Law** which also should be preached (compare Article V of the Formula of Concord) is not mentioned. **Was there a special intention of speaking only of the Gospel?** In Article VII also we read in the same way of the "doctrine of the *Gospel*", and in Article XXVIII Melanchthon says of the power of the keys that it is exercised only "by teaching or preaching the *Gospel* and administering the Sacraments". Answering that question we must not overlook that in the Scriptures, as well as in our confessional literature, the Law is frequently included when the Gospel only is mentioned (Mark 16:15; Acts 20:21).[272] In such cases the term "Gospel" in particular is chosen, because the whole doctrine of Christ, who preached Law and Gospel, culminates in the Gospel, that is in the message of "forgiveness of sins and the righteousness that avails before God". But here in our Article V, with its theme of how justifying faith is obtained, the term "Gospel" was chosen for the purpose of pointing to the preaching of grace, *in distinction from the preaching of the Law* (Rom. 3:20. F. C. V, 20 ff.), because faith is obtained not through the Law, but through the Gospel.

**6. "For through the Word and Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given, who**

---

is made: "To the true unity of the Church it is enough to agree concerning *the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments.*" Again these same two characteristics are mentioned; not *also* a certain organization, upon which the Reformed churches always have been laying so much emphasis. The question of organization is not essential in the Lutheran church. Not that it deserves no attention, but it is not to be co-ordinated with "the teaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments".

[272] Book of Concord, pp. 507, 589.

**worketh faith,"** etc. Justifying faith of which we heard in Article IV is a work of the Holy Ghost. He makes use of the Word (of the Law as preparing the way, of the Gospel as enkindling faith) and the Sacraments, employing them as instruments *(tamquam per instrumenta)*. So Word and Sacraments become **means of grace,** and through these means **only** the Holy Ghost works faith. In Article VII of the *Schwabach Articles* we read "There is no other means, no mode, nor way, nor path to obtain faith. For thoughts outside of, or before the hearing of the Word, holy and good as they may seem, are nothing but lies and error." This is confirmed by Luther in the *Smalcald Articles,* when he says: "And in those things which concern the spoken, outward Word, we must firmly hold that God grants His Spirit or grace to no one, except through or with the preceding outward Word." And again: "Just so our enthusiasts condemn the outward Word, and nevertheless they themselves are not silent, but they fill the world with their pratings and writings, as though indeed the Spirit were unable to come through their writings and words. Why do not they also omit their own sermons and writings, until the Spirit himself come to men, without their writings and before them, as they boast that they have received the Spirit without the preaching of the Scriptures?"[273]

**7. "In them that hear the Gospel."** This is, on man's part, the condition for receiving the Holy Spirit. This word **"hear"** includes *reading* and any way of bringing the truth of the Gospel to man's attention. Weak-minded people in the institutions of Inner Missions are especially aided through the *singing* of the

[273] Book of Concord, p. 332.

liturgy of the Church and through sacred hymns. *Any of the natural avenues* in man for the access of divine truth are included in this hearing. Where the means of grace are neglected or treated with contempt there the Holy Ghost cannot do His work. It is interesting to follow through the Book of Concord all the references to the hearing of the Gospel.[274]

**8. "Where and when it pleases God."** What is the meaning of this seemingly mysterious phrase? **We find these words,** or phrases resembling them, in the Schwabach Articles (VII, *"wie und wo er will"*); in the Marburg Articles (VI, *wo er will*, also VII, *"wo und in welchen er will"*). In the *Editio Princeps* of 1531 Melanchthon writes in the German text: *"wo und wann er will"*, in the Latin text: *ubi et quando visum est Deo.* But already in the edition of 1533 Melanchthon abandons this phrase; neither do we find it in the *Variata* of 1540 and its successors. **What is the meaning?** We must *not take it in the sense of absolute predestination.* It is not more so than John 3:8: "The wind bloweth where it listeth," or 1 Cor. 12:11: "All these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." Yet this phrase does serve to establish the truth that *the receiving of the Holy Ghost is not a matter of man's powers.* It also indicates the mysterious way of God's calling grace. *God chooses occasion and time* for the working of faith in the individual. One is converted through this sermon at such and such an occasion, another under altogether different circumstances. Some embrace the comfort of the Gospel in childhood, because they have Christian parents; others at a much

[274] See pp. 95 (67); 183; 214 (5); 497 (4 ff.); 499 (13); 562; 661, 662 (76).

later time in their life, and after much struggle. While all *resistance* must be charged to man, *every advance step* in the direction of obtaining faith has to be attributed to God who wills our salvation. So this much discussed phrase "where and when it pleases God" supports the Augustinian and Lutheran doctrine of divine monergism in man's conversion.

**9. The Errorists Rejected.** "They condemn the Anabaptists and others who think the Holy Ghost cometh to men without the external Word, through their own preparation and works."

a. The emphasis of the **Anabaptists,** at the time of the Reformation, was upon the Spirit, by which they understood an *inner light* in those who had received the Holy Spirit, manifesting itself in inspirations and revelations. The Zwickau prophets, against whom Luther preached in Wittenberg (1522), belonged to that class; also Thomas Muenzer, Carlstadt, Schwenkfeld, Denk, Hetzer, and others.

b. Among the **"others"** Melanchthon must have thought of *Zwingli* and *Oecolampadius.* A leading thought in the Reformed Church from the beginning was that the divine influences upon man are experienced in an immediate way. This thought was more or less *neutralized* in the Church as it was finally shaped by Calvin. But the original spiritualism of the Reformed Church *asserted itself* in many of the sects that sprang from this source. The extreme is represented by the *Quakers,* which must be regarded as a legitimate daughter of the Reformed Church. Created things (like words of the Bible and the elements of the Sacraments) are not thought to be used by God as necessary instruments and vehicles of His gracious influences upon man.

but the Holy Ghost is believed to work immediately. In the Quakers and related sects we have a complete return to the position of the Anabaptists of old. Melanchthon, in the **Apology,** characterizes the people of this type as "fanatical men, who dream that the Holy Ghost is given not through the Word, but because of certain preparations of their own, if they sit unoccupied and silent in obscure places, waiting for illumination, as the enthusiasts formerly taught, and the Anabaptists now teach".[275] With this phrase of our Confession "through their own preparations and works" we are on exceeding practical ground. All who are laboring to work themselves into a state of spiritual exaltation by anything that is calculated to excite the feelings fall under the sentence of this article. We have reference to exciting prayer meetings, through which sentiment is worked up during evangelistic campaigns; mannerism in preachers, mostly evangelists, through which they try to bring their hearers under the spell of their personality; the employment of drastic language in revival meetings. At the basis of it all lies a despising of the God-appointed means of grace.

## ARTICLE SIX.

## Of the New Obedience.

Also they teach, that this Faith is bound to bring forth Good Fruits, and that it is necessary to do good works commanded by God, because of God's will, but not that we should rely on those works to merit justifi-

Item docent, quod fides illa debeat bonos frauctus parere, et quod oporteat bona opera mandata a Deo facere propter voluntatem Dei, non ut confidamus per ea opera iustificationem coram Deo mereri. Nam remissio peccatorum et

[275] Book of Concord, p. 215 (13).

cation before God. For remission of sins and justification are apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ attests: "When ye shall have done all things, say: We are unprofitable servants" [Luke 17: 10]. The same is also taught by the Fathers. For Ambrose says: "It is ordained of God that he who believes in Christ, is saved; freely receiving remission of sins, without works, by faith alone."

iustificatio fide apprehenditur, sicut testatur et vox Christi: Quum feceritis haec omnia, dicite, servi inutiles sumus. Idem docent et veteres scriptores ecclesiastici. Ambrosius enim inquit: Hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum, salvus sit, sine opere, sola fide, gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum.

**1.** Fabricius suggested as a fitting **superscription** the words: Of Good Works. This would be in entire harmony with the simple terminology of Melanchthon, and it would sound more natural than our traditional superscription: Of the New Obedience, a term which is not found in the text of the article. And yet, **the term "New Obedience" is highly suggestive** of the leading thought through this article, namely to represent the good works as the fruits of justifying faith. To speak of good works from the viewpoint of an obedience is *thoroughly Scriptural,* but here we have to do with an obedience that is brought about by *a new impulse:* by faith which is not a mere knowledge of a doctrine and consent to it, but above all confidence in the grace of God who forgives the sins because of the merits of Christ.

**2. Supplementary Articles** in other parts of the body of confessional writings of the Lutheran Church indicate the importance of the matter treated in our article. When the Confession was almost completed,

Melanchthon decided to add a special article that was to deal more in detail with the subject of faith and good works. So he did in **Article XX,** which is the longest of all articles of the first, the doctrinal, part of the Confession. And in the **Apology,** Melanchthon again devotes much space to the discussion of this matter. His article "Of Love and the Fulfilling of the Law" covers, in the People's Edition of the Book of Concord, the pages from 104 to 161. Here we have a great commentary to our article. And in the **Formula of Concord** we have two articles dealing with questions arising from Article VI of the Augsburg Confession, which became matters of dispute among the followers of Luther. It is Article IV on Good Works[276] and Article VI on the "Third Use of the Law".[277]

3. **The Connection with Art. IV** on Justification is clear when we ask the question: Where is the source for the production of good works? The Confession answers: "Also they teach that **this faith** is bound to bring forth good fruits." Note: "this faith" *(fides illa)*. It **points back to** Article IV, to that faith "through" which men are "freely justified for Christ's sake", "when they believe that they are received into favor and that their sins are forgiven". It is this faith *(hanc fidem)* which, according to Article V, has been wrought by the Holy Ghost through Word and Sacrament. There are no good works except those that have justifying faith as their source. First man is made good, and then his works are good also. For this reason the "good works" are here called "good *fruits*".

---

[276] The correction of the extreme positions taken by George Major and Nic. Amsdorf.

[277] Refuting John Agricola and the Antinomians.

**4. An Inner Necessity.** We read: "that this faith is **bound** to bring forth good fruits, and that it is **necessary** to do good works." Note in the German text the words *"soll"* and *"muesse"*, in the Latin *"debeat"* and *"oporteat"*. Good works are not optional. They must follow, and they will follow as good fruit will be produced by a good tree. The words of our text **"to bring forth"** are a translation from the Latin *"parere" (bonos fructus parere)*, used to express the act of producing animal and vegetable life. In this sense the same writer who is quoted at the close of this article[278] calls faith a *"genetrix" (Fides bonae voluntatis et justae actionis genetrix est.")*. Luther says: "Faith is a divine work in us. It changes us and regenerates us. It mortifies the natural man in us and makes us new men in heart, spirit, mind and all powers, and it cannot be without the Holy Spirit. Oh, it is a living, busy and powerful thing about faith. It is impossible that it should not always do good works. It does not stop and ask where good works can be done, before there can be any asking, it does good works and is always doing them." Such inner necessity for doing good works[279] is fundamentally different from being driven by an outward compulsion of the Law, which can result only in works that have the appearance of being good, but which in reality have no value in the sight of God. The Formula of Concord, in Article VI, has valuable statements on the distinction between works of the Law and works of the Spirit.

---

[278] Melanchthon with his age believed that Ambrose was the author of *De vocatione gentium*, but the authorship of the so-called *"Ambrosiaster"* is shrouded in mystery. Hauck, *R. E.*, I, 441.

[279] See Formula of Concord, Art. IV, 6, p. 505.

**Note:** The Melanchthonian *George Major* made the statement: "Good works are necessary for salvation." This seemed to agree with the words of our article "that this faith is bound to bring forth good fruits and that it is necessary to do good works". But the danger was the Melanchthonian synergism as a special interest back of that statement. So *Nic. Amsdorf,* the extreme follower of Luther, opposed the statement: "Good works are injurious to salvation." *Melanchthon,* replying, called this a "cynical and cyclopic nonsense". The *Formula of Concord,* in Art. IV, settled the controversy by teaching that good works are necessary not in the article of justification, but in the article of sanctification; and that good works may become injurious when "we *rely* upon those works to merit justification before God". One must read these discussions in both the Solid Declaration and in the Epitome to be impressed with the manner in which our Church insists upon the necessity of always distinguishing between justification and sanctification. The religious interest at stake here is the fundamental statement in Art. IV of the Confession that the sinner is "freely justified for Christ's sake through faith," which alone can make our salvation certain. As soon as we admit anything of good works into the definition of justification or into the ground of salvation then our salvation becomes uncertain, because we can never do all we should do and will always have to stand under the words of Christ: "When ye shall have done all these things, say: We are unprofitable servants" (Luke 17:10).

**5. The Motive for Good Works.** On this we have a double statement first a positive and then a negative.

**a. Positive:** "because of God's will." The Apology mentions three reasons why a believer should do good works: (1) out of gratitude to God; (2) for the exercise and development of faith; (3) as a testimony before the world.

**b. Negative:** "but not that we should rely on those works to merit justification before God." While

good works *are necessary* they do not belong to the *ground* of salvation. This caution against the meritoriousness of anything that may be under discussion (outside of the merit of Christ) runs through the whole Confession (XII, XV, XX, XXI) and is the pivotal center even in Part Two (XXII to XXVIII).

**6. The Kind of Works that Faith will Bring Forth.** A brief reference to this question was not out of place. We have it in the following: "Good works **commanded by God",** *(mandata a Deo)*. This remark is directed against the "evangelical counsels" *(consilia evangelica)* of the **Romanists.** By this theory of distinguishing between works that God has commanded and such as are not demanded of man, an opportunity should be given to do works that are especially meritorious. As such usually three things were mentioned (1) celibacy, (2) self-chosen poverty, (3) absolute obedience to the Church. These, then, are identical with the vows of monasticism, never appreciated by the Lutheran Church, because they represented a self-chosen sanctity, with no foundation in the Scriptures. The **Lutherans** took the position that anything which love, growing out of faith, compels us to do is simply our Christian duty and in no way optional. They regarded those aforementioned works as useless. Matthew 15:9 was much quoted: "But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."[280] We need the commandments of God as a

[280] Luther wrote much on this subject. He saw in these self-chosen works nothing but an "ungodly sanctity" (Erl. Ed. 28, 231), which is no Christian perfection (9, 287; 7, 321; 8, 13; 12, 227), but comes from the devil (22, 65). They do not have the marks of really good works, because they are lacking the impulse from within, or freedom; they do not rest upon a divine commandment; and they benefit nobody. (Weimar Ed. 2, 169 f.)

guide for enabling us to determine which are good works and which are not. Here Article VI of the Formula of Concord on the "Third Use of the Law" should be read.

## ARTICLE SEVEN.

### Of the Church.

Also they teach, that One holy Church is to continue forever. The Church is the congregation of the saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered. And to the true unity of the Church, it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike. As Paul says: "One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." etc. [Eph. 4:5, 5].

Item docent, quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut ceremonias ab hominibus institutas. Sicut inquit Paulus: Una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium cet.

**1. The Lutheran Definition of What the Church is.** "The Church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered." Lutheranism, when it came into existence, had to do with two opponents: Roman Catholicism and Anabaptism. Against both of these the definition quoted was directed.

a. The **Roman conception** of the Church was that of an *external organization,* a kind of a state, governed by one will, with common ceremonies as the

bond of unity. The Church in its essence, properly speaking is, according to Rome, a *corpus mixtum,* comprising, under the Pope, the good and the bad, all those that are called and baptized *(vocati et batizati).* The Romanists see in the *corpus mixtum* the *real essence* of the Christian Church.[281]

To this **our Confessors** at Augsburg opposed their definition: The Church, if it is to be defined in its real essence,[282] the Church proper, is the congregation *of saints.* The Lutherans **do not deny** that the saints will find themselves in organizations, "hypocrites and evil persons" mingling with them, but what **they reject** is that this *corpus mixtum* condition is the real Church, the Church properly speaking. On the contrary, it is the company of saints, the believers in Christ, that constitute the Church. The hypocrites and evil men are, strictly speaking, not members of the Church, because they are not members of the body of Christ.[283] In confirmation of this we quote the **famous passage in Melanchthon's Apology:** "It (the Church) is *in principle* a fellowship of faith and the Holy Ghost in hearts." German text: "The Christian Church consists not alone in fellowship of outward signs, but it consists *especially* (fuernehmlich) in inward communion of eternal blessings in the heart, as of the Holy Ghost, of faith, of the fear and love of God."[284] One can easily see **the necessity** for the Lutherans to set forth their attitude toward the Roman conception of the Church. Luther had been solemnly excommunicated;

---

[281] Note the contrast with the first clause in Art. VIII.

[282] *Stricte sic dictu,* as the old Dogmaticians said, in contrast to *late dictu* — the narrower sense as compared with the wider sense.

[283] Apology, p. 163 (11).

[284] Book of Concord, p. 162.

his followers might experience the same at any time. Now they establish themselves upon the immovable rock of the divine Word: "the Church properly" is not a certain organization, but simply the congregation of saints, of true believers, of those that are by faith real members of the body of Christ.

b. The other extreme which the Lutherans had to face was that of the enthusiasts of that day, especially represented by the **Anabaptists.** While to the Romanists the Church was nothing but an external institution (false objectivism), these spiritualistic sects of the Reformation time dissolved the Church into something exclusively spiritual, into something that has an existence only in the hearts of men, into a kind of "Platonic state" without reality (false subjectivism).

Over against this extreme **our Confessors** had to emphasize that the Church is a real *congregation* of saints, an *ecclesia.*[285] *Luther,* in his Small Catechism, calls it, on the basis of the Apostles' Creed, *"eine heilige, allgemeine, christliche Kirche".* Then he interprets that word *Kirche* as a congregation, an assembly or a gathering, a congregation of saints.[286] The hearing of the Word is the first step to become members of this congregation. The German text of our article has for "congregation of saints" *die Versammlung aller Gläubigen. Melanchthon* says in the Apology: "Neither indeed are we dreaming of a Platonic state . . . (German text: of an imaginary Church which is to be found

[285] The word ἐκκλήσια occurs in the New Testament two times: Matth. 16:18 and 18:17. For an interpretation of these two passages, in connection with questions arising from a consideration of the relation between the local congregation and the Church at large, compare W. Rohnert, *Die Dogmatik der Luth. Kirche,* p. 490 f.

[286] Large Catechism, p. 445.

nowhere), but we say that this Church exists, viz., the truly believing and righteous men scattered throughout the world."[287] It has "a fellowship of outward objects and rites, as other governments"; German: a "fellowship of outward signs")[288]

**2. The marks of the Church** are indicated by the words of our article: "in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered" *(in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta)*.[289]

**a. Parallel passages** are the following as found in the Apology: "which fellowship nevertheless has outward marks, so that it can be recognized, viz., the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and the administration of the Sacraments in accordance with the Gospel of Christ".[290] Again: "And we add the marks 'the pure doctrine of the Gospel and the Sacraments'."[291] In the same connection: "And the Church is properly the pillar of truth (I Tim. : 15). For it retains the pure Gospel, and, as Paul says (1 Cor. 3: 12), 'the foundation', i. e., the true knowledge of Christ and faith."[292] Again: "And we know that the Church is with those who teach the Word of God aright and administer the Sacraments aright."[293]

---

[287] Apology, p. 165 (20).

[288] Ibidem, p. 162, 5.

[289] Besides these *outward* marks there is in the body of our Confessions also reference to marks of a more *internal* character: the Holy Ghost in the hearts of men and the fellowship of faith as characterizing the Church proper, the true believers (Apology, p. 167 (28); 162 (5). In our article the outward marks only are mentioned.

[290] Ibidem, 162 (5).

[291] 165 (20).

[292] 166 (1).

[293] 217 (27). Notice the word "aright", used twice, corresponding to the "rightly" in our article. Compare with this the discussion below under c.

**b. The term "Gospel"** is used as a synonym of "Word of God." Melanchthon everywhere preferred to employ the term "Gospel". It is characteristic of Lutheranism as an expression of Christianity which considers all doctrines from the viewpoint of how man can be saved.[294] The articles of the Augsburg Confession cluster around the article of justification. The term "Gospel" as used here in this article twice may also be taken as having reference to what Melanchthon calls "the foundation (1 Cor. 3: 12), i. e., the true knowledge of Christ and faith".[295] This, however, suggests a thought that can be discussed more profitably in another connection (see below under d).

**c. The twice-employed "rightly."** Many have stumbled over the term *recte*. An unqualified interpretation of this phrase would seem to mean that the Church of Christ does not exist where the teaching of the Gospel is not pure. Some have been disposed to discount the **serious intention** of this word "rightly", and have preferred to treat it as a slip of Melanchthon's pen. But that cannot be done. From a text of our Confession (as it was at the beginning of May) recently found in the Nuremberg archive, we learn that the earlier drafts of the Confession up to this date did not yet have this word *recte*.[296] But Melanchthon added it before the Confession was publicly read and delivered on June 25th.[297] So we must agree that this *recte* was

---

[294] Compare with the introduction to Art. IV, p. 139; also with our discussion under Art. V, 5.

[295] Apology, p. 166 (1).

[296] See p. 84. Th. Kolde, *Die aelteste uns bekannte Augsburgische Konfession*, p. 51.

[297] This appears clearly from Paul Tschackert, *Kritische Ausgabe der Unveraenderten Augsburgischen Konfession*, p. 68.

**added by Melanchthon for a purpose.** It can be compared to a postscript in a letter, which will never be looked upon as a slip of the pen. And let us not forget that such additions and changes were frequently made as a result of conferences and consultations between Melanchthon and the other Confessors at Augsburg. Let us note, furthermore, that **Melanchthon repeats this word in the Apology,** when he says: "And we know that the Church is with those who teach the Word of God *aright,* and administer the Sacraments *aright*" 217 (27). "Aright" is again the translation of the Latin *recte.*[298] The **German text** of the Augsburg Confession reads as follows: *"in welchen das Evangelium rein gepredigt und die Sacramente laut des Evangelii gereicht werden".* So, then, we cannot deny that Article VII of our Confession, in speaking of the marks *(notae)* of the Church, insists that the Gospel must be "rightly" preached (pure, *rein),* and that the administration of the Sacraments must be according to the Scriptures.

d. What is the standard from this for the recognition of true churches? **How are we to judge of the various denominations** as to the question where the true Church of Christ is to be found?

**First:** *Can we say of* **the Lutheran Church** *that there "the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered"?* To answer this question correctly we have to divide it into two questions:

(1) *Can we say of the Lutheran Church* **as represented by its Confessions** *that it is pure in the teaching of the Word and Sacraments?* Every one who is a Lutheran of conviction, having examined the Confes-

[298] See our quotation of the Latin text.

sions in the light of the Scriptures, will affirm this. And it seems to us that others also, if they could just rid themselves of prejudices, would, after a candid examination, reach the same conclusion. The Scripturalness of the Lutheran Confessions will captivate him who gives himself to a thorough study of them. But

(2) *Can we claim of* **the Lutheran Churches everywhere** *that they actually do teach* the Gospel rightly and that their administration of the Sacraments rests upon the Scriptural conceptions? This is an altogether different question. The Lutheran name and the official subscription to the Lutheran standards of doctrine do not always guarantee a teaching after the Lutheran Confessions. The real Lutheran character of a church depends upon the significance which such subscription to the Confessions has, it depends upon the spirit and actual attitude of the church to the Creed. There are theologians of Lutheran name, who find themselves in disagreement with the doctrine of man's total depravity as taught in Article II of the Augustana; who teach a Christ that can be no Saviour (against Article III); who in their conception of justification and sanctification (Articles IV and VI) are moving on Roman Catholic ground — an error common in pietistic circles, as also among the men who are interested in a union between Lutherans and Reformed (legalism); who ignore the appointed means of grace and expect to draw the Holy Spirit by all kinds of human efforts (against Article V); who can never learn the meaning of Holy Baptism for the life of the Christian, to whom the Sacraments are nothing but symbols (against Articles II, IX and X). Occasionally we find more Scriptural conceptions in other denominations than in Lutheran

Churches.[299] So in answering our above question we can only say: *Lutheran Churches are representatives of the true Church of Christ only in so far as they actually live up to their Confessions in teaching and practice.*[300]

**Second:** Now we have paved the way for a brief discussion of **how we should regard the other denominations.** Can we say of the other churches that they are true Churches of Christ in the sense of our article? Can we as Lutherans admit that in the other churches "the Gospel is *rightly* taught and the Sacraments *rightly* administered"?

(1) We are justified in making the following statement: **If we believe that our Confessions are Scriptural then we must regard the teaching of other Churches as unscriptural on the points where they reject the teaching of our Confessions.** Can there be anything more rational and conclusive than this statement? Yes and No cannot dwell together in one conviction. In 1581, Z. Ursinus, co-author of the Heidelberg Catechism, published in the name of the other Reformed theologians

---

[299] A Lutheran missionary in New Mexico, the only representative of Lutheranism in that territory, once told me that he visited, at the place of his bishopric (Albuquerque), a conference of Methodist negroes, and there he witnessed their celebration of the Lord's Supper. But how surprised he was to see these negroes, in their child-like way of expressing religion, to be unconsciously dominated all through their service by that Biblical realism which is characteristic of the Lutheran Church. Not all Lutherans are in the Lutheran Church.

[300] Of course, the failing of some individuals in a Lutheran synod does not justify any one immediately to denounce the whole body as un-Lutheran. Rectification of doctrinally detrimental influences, certainly a sacred duty of the Church, may, in Christian wisdom, be aimed at in a number of ways, in careful consideration of the individual cases (immediate discipline or educational method). But it is the spirit of indifference in the Church that indicates the danger of losing the crown.

of his day a refutation of the Formula of Concord.[301] After the Herculean efforts in the Crypto-Calvinistic agitation of uniting Lutherans and Reformed upon the basis of a Calvinism tempered by Bucerism and Philipism, had come to naught through the work of Andreae and Chemnitz and after the Book of Concord had been published (1580), the most thorough testimony against Lutheranism was published by Ursinus, one of the noblest theologians of the Reformed Church. Here it was where the two great Churches of the Reformation parted ways for good. If there is anything that a reading of the Formula of Concord and the Neustadt Admonition can make clear, it is the truth which Luther uttered at Marburg when he said to Zwingli not in bitterness, but in a friendly way: "Ye have another spirit than we." Over the grave of Zacharias Ursinus to-day in the Stift Church at Neustadt we read, as part of the inscription which the grateful Reformed Church wrote upon his monument: ". . . the successful antagonist to the heresies on the person of Christ and His Supper". (Meusel). So we see: One Church regards the other as erring. But then we cannot admit of both that by them "the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered". The Lutherans, in so far as they are Lutherans of conviction, must deny it to the Reformed; and the Reformed, if they are true to their whole position, cannot do otherwise than to insist that theirs is the Scriptural conception.

(2) *But* **can we not say that the differences consist only in the viewpoints taken,** so that both sides have the "Gospel" from a different point of view?

---

[301] *Neostadiensium Admonitio*, see Hauck's *R. E.* XIII, 709; Meusel, *Kirchl. Handlexikon* (1st ed.) VII, p. 26.

It is true, for instance, that the Calvinists hold with us *the doctrine of justification.* But they have it from a peculiar viewpoint, the sovereignty of God. This does not do away with the Gospel, yet the Gospel of free grace becomes beclouded (legalism). Under Calvinistic preaching, God appears to us more as a stern Lord than as a loving Father. We are more His obedient servants than His confiding children. A wrong viewpoint can seriously affect the teaching of the Gospel. But the difference is not always just in viewpoints. This we can see when we take, for instance, *the Lord's Supper.* Here the one side positively rejects what the other side accepts. The difference between Lutherans and Baptists on *the Sacrament of Baptism* is another case. The difference is a radical one: what the Lutherans regard as a real means of grace and the source of the new religious life, this is to the Baptists an act of obedience on the part of the converted, in which he submits to a ceremony of religious significance. What the one side accepts as a doctrine of the divine Word the other rejects as error. It is impossible that, in the sense of our article, both can be the Church "in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered".

(3) *But* **perhaps we can solve the difficulty by a closer examination of the term "Gospel."** There are those that say: The differences between the "orthodox" or "evangelical" denominations have nothing to do with the Gospel, the "glad tidings;" these differences simply show us the superstructure erected upon the foundation. The reference to 1 Cor. 3:9-15 is familiar. The lesson is drawn that as long as the foundation is not rejected the existence of the Church of Christ cannot be denied. There is much truth in this, and upon this

thought we shall try to build our final solution of the problem in the next paragraph (4). Yet permit us to say that in the application of the above quoted passage from 1 Corinthians many have fallen victims to most dangerous fallacies. There is a long passage bearing on this question in the Apology which we shall quote in full. While reading it let us keep in mind a few questions: Is there no essential relation between the foundation and the superstructure? Do such errors as Semi-Pelagianism, Arminianism, synergism not detract from the Gospel? Is the assurance of salvation not bound to be affected by the doctrine of predestination as taught by Calvin? or is not something of the comfort of the Gospel lost by the denial of Baptism as an objective means of grace? Now let us read the quotation from the Apology (p. 165 (20): "And we add the marks 'the *pure* doctrine of the Gospel, and the Sacraments'. And this Church is properly the pillar of truth (1 Tim. 3:15). For it retains the *pure* Gospel, and, as Paul says (1 Cor. 3:12), 'the foundation', i. e., the *true* knowledge of Christ and faith. Although among these (in the body which is built upon the true foundation, i. e., upon Christ and faith), there are also many weak persons, who, upon the foundation, build stubble that will perish, i. e., certain unprofitable opinions (German: some human thoughts and opinions), which, nevertheless, because they do not overthrow the foundation, are both forgiven them, and also corrected. And the writings of the holy Fathers testify that sometimes even they built stubble upon the foundation, but that this did not overthrow their faith. But most of those errors which our adversaries defend overthrow faith; as their condemnation of the article concerning the remission of

sins, in which we say that the remission of sins is received by faith. Likewise manifest and pernicious is the error, in that the adversaries teach that men merit the remission of sins by love to God, prior to grace. For this also is to remove 'the foundation', i. e. Christ."

(4) Now, for a final answer, we again ask the question: **Does the phrase in our article ("where the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered") exclude the thought that the Church of Christ has its existence also among the other denominations?** Remember, we have not said that the Lutheran Church, *as an organization existing here or there,* is the only true Church in the sense of our article. We stated that absolute purity of doctrine is the goal for the development in many parts of the Lutheran Church. The Confessions of our Church are Scriptural, but to what extent have we succeeded in embracing their truth in all directions? This is a question which each organization representing the Church of the Augsburg Confession the world over has to answer for itself. As Lutherans of conviction we cannot admit that the churches which oppose the teachings of the Augsburg Confession, as far as their Creeds are concerned, are, in the full sense of our article, the Church "in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered". It would be a *contradictio in adjecto.* But even in this respect we would not say that there is no representation of the Church of Christ. In the Creeds of some churches the foundation, while *affected* by errors inseparable from the foundation, has not been *overthrown;* in other churches again, the errors overshadow the saving truth of the Gospel in a most deplorable manner, so that it is hard

to discover even some remnants of the One Holy Church of which our article speaks. We can lay this down as a principle: The One true Christian Church exists in all the denominations to the extent *(quatenus)* in which the foundation has been kept intact and has not been vitiated by errors detracting from the Gospel of Jesus as the Saviour of sinners. And even this may be admitted: The unscriptural principles in the Creeds of some churches affecting the foundation do not always work themselves out in the convictions of their ministers and members. The Bible, with much truly Scriptural literature, is constantly counteracting these influences, so that many a truly evangelical testimony can be heard from these quarters. Spurgeon, a Baptist as to church affiliation, was an example. The error appears localized, even neutralized.

**3. The "One Holy Church is to continue forever."** The Church of Christ, in so far as she is *the congregation of saints and true believers,* characterized by that inherent necessity of coming into appearance with a pure teaching of the Word and with an administration of the Sacraments in accordance with the Word of God, has the promise of continuing to the end of the days; neither can this Church, "the Church *properly*" (Art. VIII), fall into error. *Particular churches* may go out of existence, or fall into error, but not so the Church proper. (Matthew 16:18; 28:20; 24:24).

**4. The Unity of the Church.** The Lutherans, as we have seen, admitted that *One* holy Church is to continue forever. But by doing away with so many of the **traditions, rites and ceremonies** of the Roman Catholic Church they seemed to have destroyed this unity. To this charge, which was a grave one also from a political

standpoint, as it endangered the unity of the German empire, an answer had to be made in this article.

a. We have the answer in the following words: "And to the true unity of the Church it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments." Latin: *Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum.* This is **the positive part of the answer.** A very important statement. Here we have the leading **principle for Church union.** Where there is agreement with respect to the means of grace there is unity, but only there. Where this agreement is lacking there should certainly be no *organic union* such as, for instance, has been established in the formal union between Lutherans and Reformed in the Prussian Union and even more objectionably in the real union of the German Evangelical Synod of America.[302] Neither should there be *altar fellowship.*[303]

---

[302] The difference between the two is this: the Union of Prussia is confederative in character, existing chiefly in the sphere of church government, the Lutheran congregations using the Lutheran, the Reformed the Heidelberg Catechism, both sides also being provided with liturgical formulas of their own; whereas the German Evangelical Synod of America is an absorptive union, the Lutheran and the Heidelberg Catechisms having been blended into a new one (Irion's Catechism), with a neutral attitude as to the doctrinal differences of the two churches, which finds expression also in the liturgical formulas for ministerial acts, in the hymn book, etc. For a thorough discussion compare my article in *The Lutheran Quarterly* of 1902 (vol. XXXIV, p. 67) on "The Difference Between the Prussian Union and the German Evangelical Synod"; originally this article appeared in German in the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung (Hengstenberg's) in Berlin, 1902; it was published in a special pamphlet by the German Literary Board, Burlington, Ia.

[303] Such was rejected by Spener with the following words: "Because the communion with a congregation includes that one approves of the doctrine of this same congregation especially in the article of such Sacrament; . . . therefore I cannot see how we can take the communion in those churches whose doctrine of the communion we ourselves believe and profess not to be correct, thus giving one testimony with our mouth and another with our act . . . Therefore is this doctrine the

And as to **the pulpit,** care should be taken that any preaching in other pulpits be not practiced in such a way as to convey the impression that the existing differences with respect to "the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments" are matters of indifference.

b. Now follows the **negative statement:** "Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites and ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike." These words are also important. Such **traditions, rites and ceremonies** are not here unconditionally rejected. *Some,* of course, must be rejected, as will be seen in Article XV, namely, such as have been "instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace, and to make satisfaction for sins"; but *not those* "which may be observed without sin, and which are profitable unto tranquillity and good order in the Church". Yet while some of these "human traditions, rites and ceremonies, instituted by men", may be right and even helpful and under certain conditions ought to be observed *jure humano* (not *jure divino),* nevertheless, we are **not warranted in making the observance of them essential to the unity of the Church.** Among the *Reformed* Churches an erroneous principle became established by treating the question of church government as an element co-ordinated with the agreement concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Congregationalists have separated on questions of church government. In the *Lutheran Church* all these forms of government are used as training and tradition as the different nations may demand.

---

most manifest partition wall between the two Churches. How can we then have a common fellowship (*gemeines Mahl*) together?" *Letzte theologische Bedenken,* II, 43 *seq.,* III, 81, 88 seq.

## ARTICLE EIGHT.

### The Ministry of Evil Men in the Church.

Although the Church property is the Congregation of Sainth and true believers, nevertheless, since, in this life, many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled therewith, it is lawful to use the Sacraments, which are administered by evil men; according to the saying of Christ: "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat," etc. [Matt. 23:2]. Both the Sacraments and Word are effectual by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, notwithstanding they be administered by evil men.

Quamquam ecclesia proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium, tamen quum in hac vita multi hypocritae et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis, quae per malos administrantur, iuxta vocem Christi; Sedent scribae et pharisaei in cathedra Moysis cet. Et sacramenta et verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

They condemn the Donatists, and such like, who denied it to be lawful to use the ministry of evil men in the Church, and who thought the ministry of evil men to be unprofitable and of none effect.

Damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in ecclesia, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse.

**1. A Significant Repetition** is contained in the words with which our article begins: "Although the Church is *properly* the congregation of saints and true believers," etc. Our attention is again called to **the distinction** between the Church strictly speaking *(stricte dictu)* and the Church in the wider sense *(large dictu)*. We see that we were not mistaken in the interpretation of Article VII. For here, in Article VIII, both sides,

the Church properly speaking, or the congregation of saints and true believers, on the one hand, and the Church as she actually exists, many hypocrites and evil persons mingled therewith, on the other, are spoken of as almost in contrast with each other.

In the language of the theologians we have come to use **the terms "invisible" and "visible"** Church to describe these two sides; but these terms are not employed in the Augsburg Confession. They can be so **misunderstood** as to convey the impression that there is nothing visible to the Church properly speaking. The One Holy Church, as we learned from the Apology,[304] is not a Platonic state, not "an imaginary Church which is to be found nowhere", not an abstract conception, but children of God "here and there in all the world, in various kingdoms, islands, lands and cities, from the rising of the sun to its setting, who have truly learned to know Christ and His Gospel". We could not rely on a statistics of these believers—that would take us into the sphere of the organized visible Church—but the true believers are there. We come into touch with many of them, we hear their testimony, we behold their walk and conversation, we see them dying as Stephen did. So we have also something visible before us in the pure teaching of the Word and in the administration of the Sacraments according to Christ's command. The One Holy Church which is to continue forever is not a soul without a body. This is an error not only of the Anabaptists, but also of the Reformed Church.[305] The descrip-

---

[304] Book of Concord, 165 (20).

[305] Zwingli, in his *Expositio Fidei*, defines the Church as the *ecclesia invisibilis*. He was the first to use this term. Calvin, in distinguishing between the two sides of the Church speaks of the *coetus vocatorum* and the *coetus electorum* (*Institutio IV*), and in his Catechism defines the

tion of the Church as invisible and visible came **into use also among the Lutherans,** but we are cautioned against the above possible misinterpretation. Since Gerhard, the Lutheran dogmaticians have preferred to use the terms: die Kirche im *eigentlichen* und *uneigentlichen* Sinne; (English: properly and not properly speaking) or: Kirche im *engeren* und *weiteren* Sinn (in the narrower and wider sense). The invisibility they take as indistinctability. All guard against the conception of two different churches. It is one and the same Church which is visible or invisible in different respects. As the "invisible" Church has visible features, as we have seen above, so also the "visible" Church has features of invisibility, viz., the close connection of the truly believing with the "hypocrites and evil persons", the constant work of the Church upon these to lead them to conversion.[306] **The mistake of the Reformed** is this, that, instead of distinguishing between the two sides of one and the same Church, they let the Church fall apart into two churches and so separate soul and body. Philippi calls the Reformed conception of the Church "a mechanical addition of both elements" *(eine mechanische Addition beider Momente)*. But both are one, like body and soul. The Church is not only an actual communion of believers, but because of the Holy Spirit's constant work also a communion which is in a continuous process of formation *(nicht nur die im Glauben versammelte, sondern auch die fuer den Glauben sammelnde Gemeinde)*. **Luther,** in his Large Catechism, says: "The Holy Ghost effects our sanctification, as follows, namely,

---

Church proper as the body and the association of believers whom God in His secret election has predestinated to eternal life. This association is entirely invisible, and is discernible to the eyes by no sign.

[306] Compare Rohnert, Dogmatik, p. 501.

by the communion of saints or Christian Church," etc.[307] Again: "For where Christ is not preached, there is no Holy Ghost *who makes, calls and gathers* the Christian Church," etc.[308] So the Church would be not only *Heilsgemeinschaft,* but at the same time *Heilsanstalt,* that is not only the communion of those that have found salvation in Christ, but also an institution serving as the organ of the Holy Spirit who works through the means of grace for the conservation and extension of the kingdom upon earth.[309]

**2. The Efficacy of the Means of Grace, even when Administered by Unregenerated Persons,** is the chief subject of this article. The first sentence leads up to this as the **real theme.** Therefore, the old superscription, "What the Church is", was not well chosen. The Confutation expressed it correctly: *De ministris malis et hypocritis.* The object of this article is to establish an important principle with reference to the efficacy of the means of grace.

**"In this life many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled" with the "saints and true believers".** It cannot be otherwise in this life where we can see into

---

[307] Book of Concord, 443 (37).

[308] Page 444 (45).

[309] There are **two schools** with regard to this subject even among Lutheran theologians. *The one* distinguishes in a more or less mechanical way between the invisible and the visible Church; is careful in excluding the marks (*notae*) of the true Church from a definition of its essence which is found exclusively in its invisibility; the Church is the spiritual communion that *would* exist visibly if in this life the true believers *could* know each other. The standard bearer of this school is the Missouri Synod. *The other* school adds the phrase of Art. VII, "in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered" to the definition of what the Church is, and finds elements of visibility also in the Church proper. Extremists in this direction were Vilmar and Grabau with the old Buffalo Synod. Stahl, Kliefoth, Huschke held to views of the same kind. Loehe, Iowa-Synod, Rohnert represent the more moderate position.

no man's heart and cannot be absolutely sure as to the sincerity of a man's profession. This admission forces us to another admission: we cannot be sure, absolutely sure, that *even the ministers* of the congregations are always godly men. They are of flesh and blood, and tempted to sin like the rest of humanity. This brings us face to face with the serious question: *Are the ministerial acts of ungodly men valid?* How with their preaching of the Word? How with the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper? **Our article answers** this question with the following words: "Is it lawful to use the Sacraments, which are administered by evil men; according to the saying of Christ: The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, etc. (Matthew 23:2). Both the Sacraments and Word are effectual by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, even though they are administered by evil men." To this statement the **Apology** adds the following: "Neither does the fact that the Sacraments are administered by the unworthy detract from their efficacy, because, on account of the call of the Church, they represent the person of Christ, and do not represent their own persons, as Christ testifies (Luke 10:16): 'He that heareth you, heareth me.' (In the German text: 'Thus even Judas was sent to preach.') When they offer the Word of God, when they offer the Sacraments, they offer them in the stead and place of Christ." [310] And in the **Large Catechism** Luther says with increasing emphasis: "Even though a knave take or distribute the Sacrament, he receives the true Sacrament, that is, the true body and blood of Christ, just as truly as he who receives or administers it in the most worthy manner. For it is not

[310] Page 167 (28).

founded upon the holiness of men, but upon the Word of God." [311]

**3. Who are quoted here as Opponents of this Principle?** "They condemn the Donatists and such like, who, etc."

**(a)** The **Donatists** differed from the *Novatians* (rejected in Art. XII, on Repentance), especially in this, that they denied the validity of the Sacraments administered by the priests of the Church which was then characterized by much worldliness.

**(b) "And such like."** Here Melanchthon must have thought of the *Anabaptists*, in that day the copies of the ancient Donatists, although they are mentioned neither here nor in the Apology.[312] We are sure that *Wickliffe* was included in the phrase "and such like", because he is mentioned with the Donatists in the Apology (p. 168, 29). He was very outspoken in the emphasis of the principle that unworthy men cannot administer the Sacraments. *Schwenkfeld* also belongs to this class, as can be seen from the enumeration of his errors at the close of the Formula of Concord (p. 670): "That the minister of the Church who is not on his part truly renewed, righteous and godly cannot teach other men with profit or administer true Sacraments." [313]

**Remark:** The *Roman Catholic Church* demands that there must be, on the part of the officiating priest, the intention to administer the Sacraments in harmony with the faith of the church, if his acts are to be valid. *Spener* and some of his followers took the position that there must be in the minister a certain degree of personal ability and worthiness, if the

[311] Page 476 (16); repeated in the Formula of Concord, page 605, (24).

[312] On Luther's polemics against the principles of Anabaptists see Plitt, II, 241 ff.

[313] The systematic development of Schwenkfeld's doctrines falls in the time after the writing of the Augustana.

means of grace are to effect the salvation of the hearers. This thought can be so used, and has been so emphasized in pietistic quarters that it amounts to a violation of the principle established in Art. VIII of our Confession.

## ARTICLE NINE.

### Of Baptism.

Of Baptism, they teach, that it is necessary to salvation, and that through Baptism is offered the grace of God; and that children are to be baptised, who, being offered to God through Baptism, are received into His grace.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who allow not the Baptism of children, and say that children are saved without Baptism.

De baptismo docent, quod sit necessarius ad salutem, quodque per baptismum offeratur gratia Dei, et quod pueri sint baptizandi, qui per baptismum oblati Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei.

Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant baptismum puerorum et affirmant pueros sine baptismo salvos fieri.

**1. The Brevity of this Article** has been wondered at, because Baptism constitutes a very important part in the doctrinal system of our church. But we must keep in mind that *the Augsburg Confession did not aim at a complete exhibition of the doctrines of the young church.* It was the points of difference that were discussed, or such points in which the Lutherans were in danger of being misrepresented. In the doctrine on Baptism the *common ground* between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholic Church was very large. The Confutation accepted Art. IX *in toto* — not altogether consistently, as can be seen from their objection to Art. II. But most of what our Art. IX contains is *directed against the sects and tendencies* representing the scale

from the Anabaptists up to the teachings of Zwingli and his associates.

**2. An Observation of Historical Interest.** From the beginning of May to the twenty-fifth of June the Augsburg Confession was in a constant process of formation. We hear of the *draft of May 11th,* which Luther saw (Compare p. 81). We know of another draft that was sent to Nuremberg about the *beginning of June,* which has recently been discovered in the Nuremberg archive, and in this draft we see that our Art. IX did not yet have the form which it has in the copy that was read before the emperor. It was *composed of just this one sentence*: "They teach that children are to be baptized, and that through Baptism they are offered to God and received into His grace." So we see that *at first the intention was* chiefly to insist on infant Baptism against the Anabaptists. Later, it was decided by Melanchthon, or in the counsel of the Confessors, to *add something more* on the doctrine of Baptism in general.[314]

**3. "Of Baptism, they teach, that it is necessary to salvation."** (Latin: *necessarius ad salutem.* German: *dass sie noetig sei*). We would not take this to mean that Baptism is *under all circumstances* necessary for salvation. There may be times when the Sacrament is not obtainable for the one who desires it, or a person may be ignorant as to its necessity, or some one may not know that he never was baptized. God can find other ways. But while God is not bound to the rule, **we have no right to make the exceptions.** God will hold us responsible when we treat His Sacrament with indifference or contempt. Augustine: *Non*

[314] Kolde, *Die aelteste Redaktion,* p. 51.

*defectus, sed contemnus baptismi damnat.* Baptism "is necessary to salvation". With this same statement Melanchthon begins his short article in the **Apology.**[315] Luther says in his **Large Catechism:** "It is most solemnly and rigidly commanded that we must be baptized or we cannot be saved. It is not, then, to be regarded as a trifling matter, like the putting on of a new coat. . . . The world is now so full of sects which claim that Baptism is a merely external thing, and that external things are of no use. But let it be ever so much an external thing, here stand God's Word and commandment which have instituted, established and confirmed Baptism."[316] The necessity of Baptism for salvation **is founded upon** this that it is the Sacrament of regeneration and the God-appointed means for imparting the spiritual life. Matthew 28:19; Mark 16:16; Acts 2:38; John 3:5; Titus 3:5; Romans 6:3; Gal. 3:27. With Baptism the spiritual life of man is to take its beginning.

**Note:** If Baptism is "necessary to salvation" as our article says, if it is an appointed means of grace through which we are "born again" (Art. II) and through which we "are received into His grace," then no one should be deprived of it in the hour of death, merely because an ordained minister is not at hand. In such case a layman, even a woman, may administer Baptism. Such "Baptism in case of extreme necessity" (Nottaufe) has always been customary in the Lutheran Church. Ex. 4:24 has been quoted in favor of this practice. The churches of the Reformed family have not adopted it. But to them Baptism is not a real means of grace, in which God, through the act, offers and gives the grace of adoption into His Kingdom to the recipient of the Sacrament. To us, Baptism is a real and necessary means of grace. Therefore the order of the Church with respect to the administration of the Sacrament by

[315] See p. 173 (51).
[316] Page 466, 7-8.

regularly called and ordained ministers (see Art. XIV) is second to the need.[317]

**4. A Double Phrase of Significance for the Lutheran Conception of Baptism.** There are two elements in the Lutheran conception of Baptism: the objective and the subjective. Both are here indicated.

a. On the one hand, Baptism is something **objective,** an act of God, of the triune God; independent of man's willing, endeavors and resolutions. We have it in the phrase of our text: "received into His grace" *(recipiantur in gratiam Dei)*. Here man is passive, as in the act of justification ("are freely justified," *gratis justificentur,* Art. IV). The divine act in which man is received into God's grace we call **regeneration.** This term is not used here, but in Art. II we have it in connection with Baptism. There it is said that eternal death shall come upon those that "are not born again through Baptism and the Holy Ghost". To this objective side of Baptism there is ample reference in the rest of the confessional writings of our Church. In the language of *Melanchthon,* "Baptism is a work, not that we offer to God, but in which God baptizes us, i. e., the minister in the place of God".[318] *Luther* also calls it "God's work". In his Catechisms he speaks of it in connection with the outward sign. It is "not simply water, but water comprehended in God's Word and commandment, and sanctified thereby, so that it is nothing else than a divine water", "heavenly, holy, and blessed". Augustine is quoted: "When the Word is joined to the element, it

[317] The Reformed Confessions (*Confessio Helvetica* II, 20; *Confessio Gallicana,* Art. 35) reject the Baptism in case of extreme necessity (*Nottaufe*).

[318] Apology, p. 262 (18).

becomes a Sacrament." [319] With reference to Titus 3:5, Luther calls it "a washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost".

b. On the other hand, the **subjective** element has not been overlooked in the wording of our article: "Through Baptism *is offered* the grace of God." Grace has been received, but at the same time it is offered to us for constant reception through the hand of faith. *Luther,* insisting that Baptism must not be "regarded only according to the external act once performed and completed", says: "Therefore every Christian has enough in Baptism to learn all his life. For he has always enough to do to believe firmly what Baptism promises and brings, viz.: victory over death and the devil, forgiveness of sin, the grace of God, the entire Christ and the Holy Ghost with his gifts. . . . We must so regard Baptism and avail ourselves of the blessings that when our sins and conscience oppress us, we strengthen ourselves and take comfort and say: I am baptized, and if baptized it is promised me that I shall be saved and have eternal life." [320]

**5. "Children are to be baptized."** It simply **follows** if Baptism is "necessary to salvation". Melanchthon argues from Matthew 28:19 (Baptize all nations.): "Just as there salvation is offered to all, so Baptism is offered to all: to men, women, children, infants." [321] It is **in no respect contrary to common sense** when children at the very beginning of their life are placed, by an act of God Himself, beyond the arbitrary reach of parents who might want to start them on a path

[319] Large Catechism, p. 467, 10 ff.
[320] *Ibidem,* p. 471 (41-44). Comp. also p. 474 (65 ff.).
[321] Apology, p. 178 (52).

away from the Kingdom of God.[322] **Children should not be denied the right to the Sacrament of Baptism.** No parents would exclude their children from the home because of their not yet being able to take part in directing its affairs.[323] The poor child became contaminated with sin already before its birth; why should it not rightly claim admission into the great hospital of the Christian Church where its wounds may be healed by the Saviour of men? (Sartorius) The objection is that the Baptism of children is not profitable, because they **cannot believe.** It is interesting to read *Luther's appendix on "Infant Baptism" to the fourth part of his larger Catechism* (p. 471). He contends for infant Baptism, because faith (which he does not want to deny in the child) has nothing to do with the validity of the Sacrament, which depends solely upon the Word and the commandment of God: "Therefore they are presumptuous and likewise obtuse minds that draw such inferences and conclusions as that where there is not the true faith, there also can be no true Baptism. Just as if I would draw the inference: If I do not believe, then Christ is nothing; or thus: If I am not obedient, then father, mother and government are nothing." [323a] As to faith in the child Luther has this to say: "We bring the child in the purpose and hope that it may believe, and we pray that God may grant it faith; but we do not baptize it upon that, but solely upon the command of God." [324]

---

[322] Vilmar, *Augsb. Konfession*, p. 100. This, of course, is not to say that children should be baptized against the will, or without the knowledge of the parents. The guarantee for a Christian training in some way cannot be dispensed with.

[323] Zoeckler, p. 271.

[323a] Page 473 (58).

[324] Ibidem.

**Note:** In his private writings Luther has expressed himself in different ways on the subject of *child faith.* Against Rome he always insisted on faith as necessary for receiving the blessing of Baptism. The power that lies in Baptism by virtue of the Word can even in the case of children, become efficacious only by means of faith. Sometimes he writes as if children have faith, and then again (as in the above quotation from the Large Catechism) as if that faith is effected through Baptism. There is no contradiction in this. When he speaks of faith already present in the child, as he did in his conversation with Bucer, 1536, preliminary to the drawing up of the Wittenberg Concord,[325] he has in mind the "beginning of faith in children", their need of salvation and their non-resistance, the *fides directa* of the later dogmaticians as contrasted with the *fides reflexa et discursiva.*[326] Pointing to the mystery as regards the existence of faith in children, he cited the presence of faith in believers during sleep. When he spoke of faith to be granted the child through Baptism, he had in mind faith as an organ that is to grow and develop and become capable of receiving all the rich blessings that have been made ours in Baptism.

**6. The Silence of our Article on the Mode of Baptism** reminds us of the fact that the Lutheran Church is not interested in the question whether Baptism should be administered by sprinkling or by immersion. It cannot be proved by the Scriptures to be an essential matter. It would come in under the discussion of Art. XV (Good Order in the Church).

**7. The Opponents of this Article.** The charge against the **Anabaptists** is that they "allow not the Baptism of children, and say that children are saved without Baptism". Leading Anabaptists were Denk, Hetzer, Hubmeier and others. Baptism was to them a work of man, in which he shows his obedience to Christ's com-

[325] Koestlin, Theology of Luther, II, 57.
[326] Rohnert, p. 419, 425-26.

mand. The Baptism of children who have no understanding of the significance of the ceremony was to them absurd, both unprofitable and superfluous.[327] Their successors are the **Mennonites** (purified from many of the extravagancies of the Anabaptists of the Reformation time by Menno Simons), with the same opposition to infant Baptism. The **Baptists** of England and America are historically independent from the Anabaptists of the Reformation time; they have come into existence as a culmination in the development of the English Independents. The Congregationalists, in opposition to those holding to the Episcopalian and to the Presbyterian views of church government, had declared the local congregation as the unit of the Church's existence; now the Baptists went a step further and made the individual Christian that unit, with which would consistently agree the doctrine that he must first decide for himself and then receive Baptism. To **Zwingli,** Baptism was a mere symbol, a badge of membership, through which the Christian engages himself to Christ. By thus depreciating Baptism, and saying that even children should thus be initiated, he hoped to sweep away the foundations of the Anabaptist party.[328]

*In general* we can say: All Protestant denominations outside of the Lutheran Church can see in Baptism no means of creating a new spiritual life. Baptism is to them **only a symbol of regeneration.** It does not work the forgiveness of sins, but is merely an illustration of how God will wash man's sins away. Some may speak of Baptism as a seal of the forgiveness of sins, but it is a forgiveness which is received independent of

[327] See the description of their teachings in Plitt, II, 261 ff.
[328] Seeberg, *History of Doctr.* II, 316.

Baptism. To all these, Baptism is no real means of grace, no means through which God communicates His grace to the soul.

## ARTICLE TEN.

### Of the Lord's Supper.

Of the Supper of the Lord, they teach, that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord; and they disapprove of those that teach otherwise.

De coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in coena Domini; et improbant secus docentes.

Here again, as in Art. IX, we have a most important and much-discussed doctrine treated in just a few statements. The confessional literature on this subject is great. For a full treatment of this article the doctrinal history is constantly to be kept in view. Our discussion can only be brief. We need for it the German text of the Augsburg Confession, with the Latin (of which our English text is a translation); and the brief article in the Apology as the authentic interpretation of the Augustana; also the respective parts in both Catechisms of Luther, and the Smalcald Articles. Article VII of the Formula of Concord, in both the Epitome and the Solid Declaration, is the most illuminating and comprehensive treatment of the Lord's Supper that has ever been written. We can only occasionally refer to it. It should be studied connectedly by every minister of the Word.

1. What is **the Sacramental Gift** in the Lord's Supper?

The Reformed churches say: **Spiritual influences** from the exalted Christ for the truly believing. If this were all, there would be no essential difference between a common religious service or a prayer-meeting and the Communion. In both cases the heavenly gift consists of spiritual influences which must be received by a special exercise of faith.

Others, who cannot free themselves from Calvinistic influences, say: The special gift is **the person of Christ,** who is present at the Communion in a spiritual way. But why did the Lord not say: This is my person? In the New Testament we read four times, in every one of the records containing the institution of the Holy Supper, namely, in Matthew, Mark, Luke and St. Paul: "This is my body." [329]

Our article interprets the words used by Christ himself, when it reads: "The **body and blood** of Christ are truly present." So did also the tenth of the Schwabach Articles, with the words: *"der wahre Leib und Blut Christi."* In his Small Catechism Luther had already expressed himself in the following way: "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, given unto us Christians to eat and to drink, as it was instituted by Christ Himself." And in the Apology Melanchthon says: "In the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present.[330]

So we see with what painstaking care our Confessions adhere to **the principle of realism** in interpreting the words of institution, for which Luther stood so un-

---

[329] There is a slight difference only in this that Matthew and Mark say: "This is my blood of the New Testament", while Luke and Paul say: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood".

[330] Book of Concord, p. 174 (54).

waveringly during the Eucharistic controversies. For the purpose of leaving to the Sacramentarians no loophole, he wrote in the Smalcald Articles: "Of the Sacrament of the Altar we hold that bread and wine in the Supper *are* the true body and blood of Christ."[331] **The Formula of Concord** sided with Luther as quoted in the Epitome, "that, on account of the sacramental union the bread and wine are truly the body and blood of Christ".[332] The seemingly offensive meaning of these expressions are explained in another place in the Formula of Concord: "When the bread is offered the body of Christ is at the same time present, and is truly tendered."[333]

**2. Can we be sure that the Roman Doctrine of Transubstantiation is excluded from the Conception of the Lutheran Confessions?**

**We must admit** that Art. X of the Augsburg Confession, in its Latin text, of which our English text is a translation, has nowhere a rejection of the Roman doctrine. We also know that the Romanists, with Dr. Eck as their mouthpiece, did not object to the reading of this article, and that their protest did not begin until Melanchthon changed the article in 1540. **Yet it is certain** that our article did not intend to teach transubstantiation. We can tell that by referring to the German text of our article, which reads: "It is taught that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present *under the form of*

---

[331] Part III, Art. VI. Luther had first written, in consonance with the Wittenberg Concord: "that under bread and wine there be the true body and blood of Christ in the Supper". But he deliberately changed it to the present form, to the displeasure of Melanchthon, Philip of Hessia, and the South Germans at the convention of Smalcald in 1537. See the historical account in this book, in the introduction to the Smalcald Articles, section 4.

[332] See p. 511, 7. Compare also Large Catechism, p. 501 (14).

[333] Solid Declaration, p. 603 (14).

bread and wine in the Supper." We have the same language in Luther's Small Catechism: "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, *under the bread and wine.*"

**Luther** had already abandoned his belief in the theory of transubstantiation when he wrote on the Babylonian captivity of the Church (1520). He was not much interested in the mode of the Real Presence, yet he looked upon transubstantiation as a "sophistical subtlety," with no foundation in the Scriptures.[334] He was especially outspoken in his writing against Henry VIII. (Erl. Ed., 420 ffff., 428).

The first edition of **Melanchthon's** Apology seems to present a difficulty. There he quotes from the old Greek canon of the mass and from Vulgarius (the Bulgarian Theophylact) sentiments which do sound in favor of a changing of the one substance into the other. But we must keep in mind that all Melanchthon here wanted to prove is that already in the ancient Church there was a belief in the "bodily presence of Christ". In the octavo edition of 1531 Melanchthon removed the quotation from Theophylact, because it seemed to him especially misleading.[335]

### 3. The Sacramental Union.

When we reject the Roman theory of a transubstantiation, and yet insist on the words of our article, "that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are distributed", then the question forces itself upon us: What is **the relation of the two elements** (the earthly: bread and wine, and the heavenly: body and blood of Christ) to each other? Is it perhaps an *impanation,* so that the

---

[334] Smalcald Articles, p. 331.
[335] See Zoeckler, p. 222.

body is locally included in the bread? This is rejected in the Formula of Concord (603, 14). Or is it a *consubstantiation?* If by this term we are to understand the creation of a third substance (*tertium quid*) out of the two substances (bread and wine on the one hand, body and blood on the other), then the Lutheran Church also rejects consubstantiation. This is implied in the whole manner in which the Formula of Concord treats of the *sacramental union* (607 ff), by which our Confessions simply understand that in the Holy Supper the earthly elements (bread and wine) remain what they are, retaining not only their color, taste, odor, but their very substance, and the heavenly elements (body and blood of Christ) also remain what they are; but that during the celebration of the Communion after the commandment of Christ, there exists between the two elements such a relation that where the bread is there is also the body, where the wine is there is also the blood of Christ, and, as our article says, "both are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord". This sacramental union which is characterized by the use of the three prepositions *in, with* and *under,* is a mystery, comparable to the union between the two natures in Christ, as is pointed out in the Formula of Concord. Only instead of a personal union it is a sacramental union.[336]

**Note 1.** Luther, with his doctrine of a sacramental union in connection with the *"in, with* and *under,"* has had precursors in the history of doctrines. **Duns Scotus,** who defended transubstantiation, already suggested that after the creation of the body of Christ not merely the accidents (color, taste, etc.), but also the substance of the bread is retained. **William Occam,** in his *De Sacramento Altaris,* was ready to reject transubstantiation as not taught in the Scriptures, and he suggested

[336] F. C., Solid Declaration, p. 607 ff.

that in the Supper the body of Christ *coexists with* the substance of the bread. Luther was thoroughly familiar with the work of Occam, and the manner in which he classifies the modes of spacial existence and the superspacial existence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper and in all existing things,[336a] points to the fact that he was influenced by Occam. Yet there is a profound difference between this philosopher of nominalism, to whom the body of Christ is nothing but a philosophical conception, and Luther who, on the basis of the Scriptures, defends the religious idea that the historical Christ as our Saviour is himself present in the Supper for the purpose of communicating his glorified humanity as a pledge and a seal for the forgiveness of sins.[337]

**Note 2.** In the above we have disclaimed consubstantiation for the Lutheran Church. We must, however, remember that the term consubstantiation has been used by the theological writers of our Church with a twofold meaning. In the sense in which we have taken it in the above discussion, as a *commixtio* of the substances for the creation of a *tertium quid*, our Church rejects it.[338] But the Lutheran doctrine of the sacramental union, as we have described it on the basis of our Confessions, has sometimes also been called a consubstantiation. If this term is meant to express, on the basis of the ubiquity, the doctrine that in the Holy Supper the glorified body of Christ is present with the bread and that when the one is distributed, the other, as being in a mysterious union therewith, is actually received — then our Church accepts such "consubstantiation".

---

[336a] See Formula of Concord, p. 619.

[337] Seeberg, *History of Doctrines*, II, pp. 203-5; 326-27. A new edition of the *De Sacramento Altaris* of Occam, which has become very rare, with introduction and explanatory notes, is about to be published by Rev. Bruce T. Birch, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

[338] It was for the first time advanced by John of Paris (about 1300), a contemporary of Duns Scotus: The substance of the bread combines with the body of Christ to form one "subsistence", so that there are indeed two corporeities, but only one body. *Vide* Seeberg, Hist. of Doctr., II, 203, footnote 2.

**4. Oral Eating and Drinking** is not accepted by all Lutherans, but it is consistent with the Real Presence and the sacramental union. The **Formula of Concord** says: "We believe, teach and confess that the body and blood of Christ are received with the bread and wine, not only spiritually by faith but also orally; yet not in a Capernaitic, but in a supernatural, heavenly mode, because of the sacramental union."[339] It **follows from the text of the Augsburg Confession:** "The body and blood of Christ are *truly present* and are *distributed* to those *who eat* in the Supper of our Lord."

There is even **a religious interest** in this statement of the way in which the communicant comes into contact with the body and blood of Christ as a pledge and a seal for the forgiveness of sins. We need not secure the communion with Christ by drawing Him down from heaven through our faith. He is present at the communion. And not only according to His divinity, but according to His whole person as God and man. We need not lift ourselves up by a strong faith to the right hand of God in order there to participate in Christ's humanity which, according to Calvin, is confined to a certain place in heaven; no, Christ's humanity has been glorified; it is omnipresent with His divinity, and, therefore, His body and blood are "truly present" in the Supper. So our article can speak of a distributing and an eating. It is through an eating and drinking that we receive the body and blood of Christ in the communion.

Yet the eating and the drinking of the heavenly elements does not take place in the same manner as that of bread and wine. **It is "supernatural",** in a way that "man's sense and reason do not comprehend". It is not

[339] Epitome, p. 512 (15). Compare the Solid Declaration, p. 613 (63 ff.).

a Capernaitic eating and drinking,[340] "as though His flesh were rent with the teeth, and digested like other food." "This", the Formula of Concord complains, is a doctrine "which the Sacramentarians, against the testimony of their conscience, after all our frequent protests, wilfully force upon us, and in this way make our doctrine odious to their hearers".[341]

5. That **Faith is Necessary** for receiving the blessing is not left out of consideration by our Confessions. This is **the subject for discussion in Article XIII** of the Augustana with its protest against the Romish conception by which the Sacraments work *ex opere operato*. (cf. below under 6). But while faith is the hand with which we receive the benefit of the Sacrament, yet **the Sacrament as such exists independently of faith.** Even those who do not have faith receive the heavenly element which is in a sacramental union with the earthly element, only they cannot receive it to their benefit, but they partake of it to their hurt.[342]

**6. The Spiritual Benefit** of the Sacrament is the object for discussion in Article XIII. This matter, as also the discussion of faith, necessary to secure the saving benefit, is **purposely left out in Article X.** Here the theme is the objectivity of the Sacrament of the Altar. In Article XIII on the Use of the Sacraments, we are to read of the spiritual benefit. The Sacraments are "to be signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith in those who use them".

---

[340] The term Capernaitic is derived from John 6: 26, 52.

[341] Vide p. 512 (15); 515 (41 ff.); 519 (17); 612 (61 ff.); 620 (105).

[342] Formula of Concord, Epitome, p. 513 (16); Solid Declaration, p. 612 (60).

**7. The "Variata" of 1540.** After the first authorized text of our Confession, the so-called *Editio Princeps,* had appeared (1531), Melanchthon changed the text with every new edition. This was in itself not out of the ordinary. Luther's first publication of the Smalcald Articles as compared with the document that was signed by the theologians also contains changes.[343] But the Variata edition of the Augsburg Confession lost favor, because the changes, especially in Article X, became the shibboleth for crypto-calvinistic tendencies in the Lutheran Church. We will be able to see the significance of the changes by presenting a **parallel exhibition** of the two texts of the article with the omitted phrases of the received text ("Invariata") in italics:[344]

| "Invariata." | Variata. |
|---|---|
| De coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi *vere adsint* et *distribuantur* vescentibus in coena Domini, *et improbant secus docentes.* | De coena Domini docent, quod *cum* pane et vino *exhibeantur* corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in coena Domini. |

These two very important phrases of the received text **were omitted** in the edition of 1540: the *vere adsint* (truly present) and the *improbant secus docentes* (we disapprove of those who teach otherwise). In addition to that, for *distribuantur* is substituted the word *exhibeantur.*

a. The wording of the article in the Variata is such that **transubstantiation is clearly excluded.** In 1530 at Augsburg there still was hope of winning the

[343] See our introduction to the Smalcald Articles, section 7.

[344] It is well to remember right here that this tenth article of the *Editio Princeps* agrees in every particular with the original Latin copy delivered at Augsburg. Compare our introduction, sec. 10, b.

emperor and the German princes over to the position of the Lutherans and of persuading them that the Lutheran position was that of the old Catholic Church; but now, ten years later, that hope no longer existed, and thus there was no need of employing expressions on the Lord's Supper that were pleasing to Rome. The Confutation had approved of Art. X in the form in which it was delivered at Augsburg; but Dr. Eck protested against the form of this article in the Variata at the colloquy in Worms, 1540.[345]

b. But, on the other hand, it is evident from the reading of the article in the Variata that Melanchthon was striving to give to Art. X a wording that might satisfy and **win over the Zwinglians,** who were now, after the death of Zwingli in the battle of Cappel (1531), without a leader. The danger of an invasion of Germany by Zwinglianism seemed to be gone. In many of the actions of Melanchthon at Augsburg (1530) there was much diplomacy. There he was unwilling to listen for a moment to the request of Philip of Hessia and Martin Bucer to remove the two objectionable phrases: *truly present* and *we disapprove of those who teach otherwise*. It would have endangered his plans of winning the Romanists.[346] But more and more the diplomatic trait in Melanchthon begins to exercise itself in the other direction. How fine if all German Protestants could be united upon a phraseology in Art. X, which is Lutheran and yet does offend neither

---

[345] Kurtz, *Kirchengeschichte*, 14th ed., p. 137, 2. Weber, *Krit. Gesch.*

[346] With this I do not want to say that the attitude of Melanchthon at Augsburg was not at the same time an expression of his doctrinal convictions. At the Marburg Colloquy, at Augsburg and during the writing of the Apology, Melanchthon was completely under the influence of the powerful Luther.

the Zwinglians nor that mediating type of theology, represented by Bucer and soon also by Calvin![347] Bucer of Strassburg was untiring in his efforts to bring about a union between the Lutherans and Reformed. The Wittenberg Concord was formulated (1536), with the hope of gradually bringing about the desired union. Luther approved of it. He himself wrote the Wittenberg Concord. In this document we have the word *exhibeantur* in place of the *distribuantur* in the Augustana. It was a period in the history of the Reformation when Luther went very far in meeting the Zwinglians, in the hope that they would gradually adopt his conception of the Lord's Supper.[348] If we keep in mind that the publication of the Variata fell in a time of such peaceful sentiments towards the Zwiniglians, we can understand why the appearance of this edition of the Augustana was not accompanied by utterances of protest on the part of Luther and his followers. The

---

[347] We remember that the South German cities because of their disagreement with the Lutherans, handed their own Confession, the *"Tetrapolitana,"* to the emperor at Augsburg.

[348] Here of special interest is a letter which Luther wrote, under date of December 1st, 1537, to the followers of Zwingli in Zurich. It was an answer to a letter received from them, in which they had emphasized their conception of a merely spiritual presence in the Eucharist. In this letter Luther prays to God that he might be permitted to complete the work of reconciliation begun in the Wittenberg Concord, and he asks them to work for the same end. For himself and his friends he promises that in writing and preaching they would be quiet and mild, in order not to interfere with the development. And, referring to the difference in the doctrine of the Sacrament, he wrote: "Since we do not yet understand each other fully, it is well to exercise mutual kindness, and always hope the best until all turbid waters have fully settled". The letter of the Swiss is found in Hospinian II, p. 151; and in Ender's *Briefwechsel* XI, 157 ff. Luther's answer (Latin) is contained in the same book, p. 157; German in the *Historie des Sakramentsstreits*, p. 400; in Ender's XI, 294; in *Erl. Ed.* of Luther's works LV, 190. Extracts of both letters in Koestlin-Kawerau, *Leben Luther's* (4th ed.), pp. 350 and 352. Compare Blanck III, Book 8, p. 399 ff.

question whether Melanchthon had changed his views on the Lord's Supper has been much discussed. Kurtz suggests that, while he did not himself reject the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence, yet he had lost the appreciation of the difference between Luther and Calvin.[349] We cannot say that the language of Art. X in the Variata introduces a new doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but the Lutheran doctrine is so mildly expressed that a basis for co-operation with the Swiss theologians is established. Planck says: "Melanchthon made these changes in order to make it possible for the Reformed to accept the Augsburg Confession without sacrificing their doctrine of the Lord's Supper. This cannot be denied; it should never have been denied."[350]

c) While at first there was among the Lutherans themselves no objection to this article of the Variata, yet later, when Calvinism entered upon an aggressive propaganda in Germany, and when it was found that the invaders made the Variata their shibboleth, **this edition of the Augsburg Confession came into disfavor** in the Lutheran Church, and the Book of Concord decided in favor of the first authorized publication of the Confession, the *Editio Princeps*, which has been called the *"Invariata"*. This has been discussed more at length in our introduction to the Augsburg Confession (cf. p. 91 ff.).[351]

### 7. Supplementary Thoughts from the Second Part of our Confession.

[349] *Church History* (14th ed.), p. 161-9.

[350] *Geschichte der Entstehung des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs* IV, Book 1, pp. 12, 14.

[351] For a still more detailed discussion of this whole question compare J. L. Neve, "Are We Justified in Distinguishing Between an Altered and an Unaltered Augustana as the Confession of the Lutheran Church" Published by the German Literary Board, Burlington, Iowa.

**a. Article XXII** insists that both kinds should be given in the Lord's Supper; that **the withdrawing of the cup** from the laity is in conflict with the words of Christ, who said (Matth. 26:27): "Drink ye all of it" in conflict also with the practice of the Apostolic church (1 Cor. 10:16; 11:26-28); also with the practice of the succeeding periods as shown by the testimony of the fathers. The Apology, in the corresponding article, adds that the only ground for this departure is human preference and priestly ambition. Pope Gelasius (492-96), writing against this practice among the Manichæans, calls such division of the Sacrament a sacrilege. The statement of Nic. Cusanus (d. 1464) that the Lateran council (1215) introduced this practice, is not correct; it was done at the Synods of Constance (1415) and Basle (1434) against the Hussites. The Lutherans also declared that they had abandoned the **Corpus Christi procession.** The real reason for this (not mentioned here) was the doctrinal conception of our Church that there is a sacramental union and a Real Presence in the Lord's Supper only *during the administration.* Besides, the *Corpus Christi* procession pre-supposes the transubstantiation theory. On this the Formula of Concord has a deliverance on page 621 (108).

**b. Article XXIV** on the Mass, in Confession and Apology, expresses the following thoughts: The Lutherans have **not abolished the mass,** by which is here meant the communion service. In their celebration of the Lord's Supper, however, they use **the language of the people** (German) in place of the Latin. They celebrate it together **as a congregation;** admitting none that have not been **proved** *(nisi antea explorati);* they are also **taught** concerning the meaning of the Sacra-

ment. They abhor the masses for gain, and therefore have entirely abandoned the **private masses** which have been especially conducted for lucre's sake. A theory which the Lutherans have been in conscience compelled to abandon is that the mass is a **continued sacrifice** for sin. The **distinction between Sacrament and sacrifice** is pointed out. The Lord's Supper is a Sacrament in which God gives to man, not a sacrifice in the sense of the Roman Church (man offering sacrifices to God). Christ is the only sacrifice presented once for all. In one respect only the Lord's Supper may be called a sacrifice: It is the **Eucharist** in which we offer our gratitude to God for His sacrifice upon Calvary.

## ARTICLE ELEVEN.

### Of Confession.

Of Confession, they teach, that Private Absolution ought to be retained in the churches, although in confession an enumeration of all sins is not necessary. For it is impossible, according to the Psalms: "Who can understand his errors?" [Ps. 19:12].

De confessione docent, quod absolutio privata in ecclesiis retinenda sit, quamquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis iuxta psalmum: Delicta quis intelligit?

**1.** On **the relation** between Article XI (of Confession), XII (of Repentance) and XXV (of Confession) Zoeckler, in his book on the Augsburg Confession (p. 234), has a few thoughts of interest: Article XII tells us what repentance is, describing it as an inner process in man's heart; Article XI deals with the outward administration of repentance from the standpoint of the Church; Article XXV repeats the essential parts of both articles and adds some testimonies of the ancient

Church in favor of theory and praxis as existing among the Lutherans. These remarks of Zoeckler would suggest that the **better arrangement** would have been to treat first of Repentance and then of Confession. This Melanchthon did in the Apology, and he also made that change in the Variata of 1540.[352]

**2. Auricular Confession** is here contrasted with *private* confession. After Peter Lombard had established the doctrine of Auricular Confession with theological arguments, the fourth Lateran Synod, 1215, decreed that at least once during the year all mortal sins of which a person had knowledge should be confessed to the priest. Not only should the sins be mentioned, but the circumstances under which they had been committed were also to be told. With the information thus secured, the priest, as a divinely appointed judge, was to say what steps were to be taken to secure the divine forgiveness. This practice helped much in the direction of making the laity dependent upon the hierarchy.

**3. Why does our Article reject Auricular Confession?** We shall answer this question on the basis of the Augustana and the Apology.

**a. "An enumeration of all sins is not necessary."** It is not commanded in the Scriptures. Confession is to be made to God, but not necessarily to the priest. The priest has not been appointed by God as a judge over the consciences of men. "Ministers in the Church . . . have not the command to investigate secret sins."[353]

---

[352] The relation between articles XII and XI is much like that between Art. VII on the essence of the Church and VIII on the Church in its actual appearance.

[353] Apology, p. 196, 7.

b. *For* **it is impossible,** *according to the Psalm: 'who can understand his errors'?"* (Ps. 19:12). We can **easily deceive ourselves** in judging the nature of our own sins. In Jer. 17:9 we read: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" Neither will it be possible for us always to **distinguish between "mortal" and "venial"** sins. We cannot accept the artificial distinction of the Roman Church which names seven mortal sins. We say: *Every sin committed by the unregenerated and by him who is not justified is a mortal sin, and all sins in the regenerated, which do away with and nullify justification are mortal sins.* An attempt, therefore, at enumerating the mortal sins before a priest will easily be a deceptive practice.

c. The **Romanists** said in the Confutation that "a full confession is necessary for salvation". But the **Lutherans,** while approving of confession, as we see in this article, contended that such demand would mean *"snares cast upon consciences,* which never will be tranquil, if they think that they cannot obtain the remission of sins, unless this precise enumeration be made". "For when will the conscience be sure that the confession is full?"[354]

d. Back of the distinction between *publicly* confessed sins to be forgiven and other sins not to be forgiven stands the old Pelagian error of **ignoring the organic relation of all sin,** of taking sins as a heap of stones. It is the failure of seeing the essence of sin in a condition. Our article in the Augstana does not touch upon this point, but that there was a fundamental difference between the Lutherans and the

[354] Apology, pp. 197, 13; 198, 14.

Romanists can be seen from the writing of Melanchthon in the Apology, especially in Art II.[355]

**4. Private Absolution** is *different from auricular confession* in that there is no insistence upon an enumeration of all sins, but it is *different also from the general confession* and absolution which takes place at the preparation of the congregation for the Lord's Supper. *In private absolution* an individual, feeling the burden of special sins or his general sinfulness, comes of his own free will to his pastor seeking spiritual comfort. And the pastor, fully conscious that he has "not the command to investigate secret sins" (Apol., p. 196), pronounces to him individually the forgiveness of sins. Melanchthon says in the Apology (p. 196): "It would be wicked to remove private absolution from the Church."

**5. Is Private Confession Compulsory?**

a. The **Scriptures** teach in many places that we must confess our sins (1 John 1:9; Prov. 28:13; Ps. 51), but we find nowhere conclusive proof that confession must be made to the spiritual leader of the congregation, as a condition for the forgiveness of sins.

b. **Luther,** who put a very high estimate upon private confession, took the position that it must not be made compulsory, that we may confess to whomsoever we will, that the all-important matter is that we confess to God.[356] R. Seeberg says: "From this position Luther never wavered, although he always warmly recommended voluntary private confession." (*History of Doctrines* II, 240. Comp. in *Luther's works*, Erl. ed.,

[355] Compare Zoeckler, p. 234. See our discussion of Art. II, p. 113.

[356] This is also the demand of Art. XXV, in its last paragraph, p. 53, 10-13.

vol. 28, pp. 248-50, 308; vol. 29, p. 353; vol. 10, 401; vol. 23, p. 68.)

c. **Our article** says with precaution "that private absolution *ought to be* retained in the churches." That compulsion is here not intended we see from the following words of the **Schwabach Articles:** "Private confession should not be forced with laws." And in the eleventh of the **Marburg Articles,** written by Luther, we read that "confession, or the seeking of counsel from the pastor or a friend (*Naechste*), should not be forced, but free". Since these articles were the sources which Melanchthon used when writing the Augsburg Confession, they are suggestive in the interpretation of the article under consideration.

**6. Why was Private Absolution retained in the Church?** Our Reformers looked upon this institution as a valuable means of imparting **needed instruction** to the souls at moments when these were receptive for divine truth. In the Apology we read the words: "In order that men may be the better instructed." Again: "For we also retain confession, especially on account of the absolution, which is the Word of God, that, by divine authority, the power of the keys proclaims concerning individuals" (pp. 197, 196.). Here we may also quote as pertinent a sentence from the German article (XXIV) on the Mass in the Augustana: *Daneben geschieht auch Unterricht wider andere unrechte Lehre vom Sakrament.* Such private confession would mostly take place at times preceding the communion, and here the minister would speak of erroneous teaching on the Sacrament. But the **chief object** for retaining private absolution in the Church was that the souls in contrition under the

"terrors smiting the conscience" (Art. XII) might unburden themselves and be comforted.

**Note:** For the administration of this institution the Church needs ministers of the right kind. The question is — as Origen said already at the beginning of the third century — whether "high priest-like personalities can be found, merciful as Christ and the Apostles".[357] The minister must be a real spiritual leader. But no matter how much spiritual influence he has over the individuals, he must take care not to let such private absolution degenerate into the auricular confession of the Roman Church. The minister must remember that it is not within his rights to ask impertinent questions in the manner of the Roman Catholic priest. The above quoted words of the Apology must ever be kept in mind: "They (the ministers) have not the command to investigate secret sins." As far as *duty* goes, the soul needs to confess to God alone. Only it is the *privilege* of those with a troubled conscience to make use of the office of the ministry for counsel and assurance of divine grace.

## ARTICLE TWELVE.

### Of Repentance.

Of Repentance, they teach, that for those that have fallen after Baptism, there is remission of sins whenever they are converted; and that the Church ought to impart absolution to those thus returning to repentance.

Now repentance consists properly of those two parts: One is contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is faith, which, born

De poenitentia docent, quod lapsis post baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum quocunque tempore, quum convertuntur, et quod ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad poenitentiam absolutionem impertiri debeat. Constat autem poenitentia proprie his duabus partibus: Altera est contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiae agnito peccato; altera est fides, quae concipitur ex evangelio seu absolutione,

[357] Seeberg, *History of Doctrines* I, § 15.

of the Gospel, or of absolution, believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven, comforts the conscience, and delivers it from terrors. Then good works are bound to follow, which are the fruits of repentance.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who deny that those once justified can lose the Holy Ghost. Also those who contend that some may attain to such perfection in this life that they cannot sin. The Novatians also are condemned, who would not absolve such as had fallen after Baptism, though they returned to repentance. They also are rejected who do not teach that remission of sins cometh through faith, but command us to merit grace through satisfactions of our own.

et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quae sunt fructus poenitentiae.

Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel iustificatos posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum; item, qui contendunt, quibusdam tantam perfectionem in hac vita contingere, ut peccare non possint.

Damnantur et Novatiani, qui nolebant absolvere lapsos, post baptismum redeuntes ad poenitentiam.

Reiiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem peccatorem per fidem contingere, sed iubent nos mereri gratiam per satisfactiones nostras.

**1. An easy Way of Viewing** the whole article is to **begin with** the third paragraph (Eng. text). Here *four special errorists* are enumerated. We have a rejection. (1) of the Anabaptists; (2) of the Perfectionists;[358] (3) of the Novatians; (4) of the Romanists. (The last are not mentioned by name, but are obviously

[358] These are not given under this special name. Perfectionism was one error of the Anabaptists, and therefore some interpreters of the Augsburg Confession (Zoeckler, for instance) speak only of three kinds of errorists enumerated in this closing paragraph. But we prefer to count the Perfectionists as a special class, because of the following which this particular error has had among Protestant denominations.

meant.) **Then we turn to** the two preceding paragraphs of our article. The first we may mark with "ad 3", and the second with "ad 4". In the first paragraph the positive doctrine of our Lutheran Church against the *Novatians* is offered, and in the second we have the doctrine of repentance as opposed to the *Romanists*.

**2. Can those once Justified lose the Holy Ghost?** This was denied by the *Anabaptists*. The *Schwenkfeldians* at the time of the Reformation took the same position. The **strict Calvinists** also deny that he who has been justified can fall from grace. He may fall into sins, offend the Holy Spirit, wound his conscience and lose the feeling of grace *for a time* (Synod of Dort), but he cannot fall forever. This is in harmony with the doctrine of absolute and unfailing predestination. Such doctrine is clearly against the teaching of the Scriptures: (Matth. 26:41; 1 Peter 5:8; 1 Cor. 10:12; Gal. 5:4; 1 John 1:8). **Luther** writes with much emphasis against this doctrine in the *Smalcald Articles* (p. 329, 42-45). The *Formula of Concord* rejects the "false Epicurean delusion . . . that faith and the righteousness and salvation received can be lost through no sins or wicked deeds, even though wilful and intentional, but that even if a Christian without fear and shame indulge his wicked lusts, resist the Holy Ghost, and intentionally acquiesce in sins against conscience, yet he none the less retains faith, God's grace, righteousness and salvation". [359]

**3. The Perfectionists** contend "that some may attain to such perfection in this life that they cannot sin". This was one of the errors taught by the **Anabaptists.** But the **Romanists,** being Semipelagians in doctrine

[359] Solid Declaration, p. 587.

taught the same, when, at the Council of Trent, they confirmed the teaching that the justified can perfectly obey the divine commandments. The possibility of Christian perfection, of sinlessness, has become the favorite doctrine of many of the **later denominations** which have sprung from the Reformed Church: the Arminians, the Quakers, the Methodists (the holiness people of many names). The so-called Oxford movement (Pearsall Smith), which has had a following also in Germany, stood for this doctrine. Some say that after conversion a second religious experience is to follow, which will lead to perfect holiness. This is against the testimony of **Scripture:** Luke 17:10; Phil. 3:12. In 1 John 1:8 we read: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Here the perfectionists interpret as follows: While we may *have* sin, yet we need not *commit* sin; to have sin and to commit sin are two very different things. But how will they then answer the 10th verse in the same chapter, which reads: "If we say that we have not *sinned*, we make him a liar, and *his word* is not in us"? Let us add a few utterances from the Confessions. **Luther** says: "in which Christian Church he *daily* forgives abundantly all my sins, and the sins of all believers".[360] The corresponding part in the Large Catechism has these words: "For now we are only half pure and holy, so that the Holy Ghost has ever to continue his work in us through the Word, and daily to dispense forgiveness, until we attain to that life where there will be no more forgiveness, but only perfectly pure and holy people," etc.[361]

---

[360] Explanation of the third article of the Apostles' Creed in the Small Catechism, p. 368.

[361] Part II, p. 446, 58.

In the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer we find the phrase: "although we daily commit much sin".[362] On the same point in the Large Catechism: "For we stumble daily and transgress, because we live in the world, among men who do us great wrong and give us cause for impatience, anger, revenge, etc. And, besides, we have Satan at our back, who attacks us on every side . . . so that it is not possible to stand always firm in such a persistent conflict."[363] In the **Formula of Concord** we read: "For although they are regenerate and renewed in the spirit of their mind, yet, in the present life, this regeneration and renewal are not complete, but are only begun, and believers are, in the spirit of their mind, in a constant struggle against their flesh, i. e., against the corrupt nature and disposition which cleaves to us unto death."[364]

**4. The Novatians** were a sect of the early Church who *"would not absolve such as had fallen after Baptism, though they returned to repentance"*. They stood for the absolute purity of the Church. If Christians, after Baptism, had fallen into grave sins, they were to be excommunicated and not to be admitted again even upon repentance. They were left to the mercy of God, but the Church should not defile itself by granting them restoration. It is **Scriptural** to exclude from Church membership those that are living in grave sins and are impenitent (1 Cor. 5:4; 5:11-13). But the **object** is the healing of the one who has fallen. Therefore our article says *"that for those that have fallen after*

---

[362] Small Catechism, p. 369.

[363] See p. 461.

[364] Epitome, p. 509. Compare also Solid Declaration, p. 542, 14; p. 565, 68, 84; p. 573, 23; p. 596, 7; p. 598, 21. See also Apology, p. 133, 149; p. 139, 172.

*Baptism, there is remission of sins whenever they are converted; and that the Church ought to impart absolution to those thus returning to repentance*". This is plainly taught in the Scriptures (1 John 1:7; Matth. 11: 28; John 6:7; 2 Peter 3:9). The Church has **no right** to keep the weak out of the communion of believers and exclude them from the Sacrament of the Altar, which was instituted as a means of grace for those in need of grace. Dr. F. Pieper says beautifully: "If a sinner repents truly and desires admission into the Christian Church, the congregation has no right to deny absolution, even if he should have made himself guilty of the most heinous sin, and if there should be reason to fear that the hypocritical, selfrighteous world will deride the congregation. Our Lord Christ was not ashamed of the thief on the cross."[365]

**5. Against the Roman Catholic Church** the closing sentence of our article is directed: "*They also are rejected who do not teach that remission of sins cometh through faith, but command us to merit grace through satisfactions of our own.*" To the Romanists repentance is chiefly **penance,** the doing of certain things by which an equivalent for the wrong committed is offered to God. So grace is merited. This is the very perversion of grace which, as we saw in Art. IV, is justification as an imputed righteousness given freely for Christ's sake through faith. According to Roman Catholic theology, **repentance consists of three parts:** (1) contrition of heart; (2) oral confession; (3) satisfaction through good works. Of these, 2 and 3 are especially important. Oral confession appears as an act in which man humili-

[365] *Das Grundbekenntnis*, p. 27.

ates himself, and so is doing something in the direction of meriting grace. The further satisfactions, then, continue and complete this work of meriting the remission of sins. But such teaching **deprives the penitent sinner of the assurance** of the forgiveness of sins and thus of true comfort. If the genuineness of repentance is to be dependent upon an enumeration of all mortal sins in auricular confession, the penitent sinner will always have to ask: Did I do *all* my duty? Did I mention *all* sins? Furthermore, if works of satisfaction are part of repentance as the condition for the forgiveness of sins, then the person with a troubled conscience will always have to ask: Did I do enough? Were my works sufficient? So then, of the three parts which Romanists enumerate as constituent factors of repentance the **Lutheran Church admits** only the first: contrition.

**6. The Lutheran doctrine of repentance** is stated in the second paragraph of our article: *"Now repentance consists properly of these two parts: One is contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is faith, which, born of the Gospel, or of absolution, believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven, comforts the conscience and delivers it from terrors. Then good works are bound to follow, which are the fruits of repentance."* This is the positive doctrine of our Lutheran Confessions on repentance. **Contrition and faith** are the constituent parts of repentance. This is repeated in the Apology (p. 185, 52): "In this manner, Scripture is accustomed to join these two, the terrors and the consolation, in order to teach that in repentance there are these chief members, *contrition and faith that consoles and justifies.*

Neither do we see how the nature of repentance can be presented more clearly and simply."

And yet we have in the Lutheran Church, and in the Confessions on the basis of Scripture, **also a different way of speaking of repentance.** Sometimes contrition by itself is taken as repentance and co-ordinated with faith. This is the case in Mark 1:15 where Christ says: "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." A like passage is Acts 20:21 "Testifying both to the Jews and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." Also Luke 24:47 "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name." In these passages, repentance is used in the *narrower sense,* as contrition. To this use of the term repentance the Formula of Concord refers: "But in Mark 1:15, as also elsewhere, where a distinction is made between repentance and faith in Christ (Acts 20:21), or between repentance and remission of sins (Luke 24:46, 47), repentance means to do nothing else than truly to acknowledge sins, from the heart to regret them, and to abstain therefrom."[386] So then in this article Melanchthon uses the term repentance in the *wider sense* as comprising contrition and faith. Indeed, according to a passage in the Apology (181, 28), and in response to the Confutation, he is even willing to admit the fruits of repentance into the definition of repentance, when he says: "If anyone desire to add a third, viz., fruits worthy of repentance, i. e., a change of the entire life and character for the better (German text: good works to follow conversion), we will not make any opposi-

[386] Sol. Decl., p. 590, 8.

tion."[367] Melanchthon here speaks of repentance in the widest sense. At another place in the Apology (p. 183, 44), he says: "Repentance *or* conversion." It was a concession to the Romanists, in order to remove the cause for controversy without sacrificing the reformation truth.

**(a) How is contrition brought about?** Our article simply answers: "through the knowledge of sin". But this knowledge of sin comes through the preaching of **the Law**, says the Formula of Concord in Art. IV on Law and Gospel.

The Law is **defined** as the "divine doctrine, which teaches what is right and pleasing to God, and reproves everything that is sin and contrary to God's will".[368] The knowledge of sins "proceeds from the Law", "which holds forth our sins and God's wrath"; "it threatens its transgressors with God's wrath and temporal and eternal punishment". According to the words of Luther against the Antinomians: "Everything that reproves sin is and belongs to the Law."[369] Even "the preaching of the suffering and death of Christ, the Son of God, is an earnest and terrible proclamation and declaration of God's wrath".[370] Such preaching is "not properly the preaching of the Gospel, but the preaching of Moses and the Law and therefore a 'strange work' of Christ".[371]

[367] Dr. Jacobs, in his "People's Edition of the Book of Concord," adds the following words from the Variata: "Neither are we ignorant that with the grammarians the term *paenitentia* signifies to disapprove that which we before approved. This agrees better with contrition than with faith. But for the purpose of teaching, we here understand repentance to be the entire conversion, in which there are two *termini*, mortification and quickening. According to the usual names we call them contrition and faith".

[368] Epitome, p. 506, 3.

[369] Solid Decl., p. 506, 4.

[370] Epit., p. 507, 9.

[371] Ib., p. 508, 10.

So then the knowledge of sin, leading to "contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience," comes through the Law, be it the commandments and prohibitions of Scripture, or the preaching of Christ's suffering and death, which in this case is not properly the preaching of the Gospel, but the "strange work" of Christ.

**(b) How is faith brought about?** Our article answers: "which, born of the **Gospel, or of absolution**, believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven".

The source of faith is the **Gospel which is defined** as "such a doctrine as teaches what man who has not observed the Law, and therefore is condemned by it, should believe, viz., that Christ has expiated and made satisfaction for all sins, and, without any merit of theirs, has obtained and acquired forgiveness of sins, righteousness that avails before God, and eternal life".[372] The Law is not able to engender faith. It is "a ministration that kills through the letter and preaches condemnation (2 Cor. 3:7), but the Gospel 'is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth' (Rom. 1:16), that preaches righteousness and gives the Spirit (1 Cor. 1:18; Gal. 3:2)".[373]

Of special interest is the phrase in our article: "born of the Gospel *or* **absolution".** (Latin: *fides, quae concipitur ex evangelio seu absolutione*). Absolution appears here as identical with the Gospel. Absolution is the Gospel declared to the soul by the servant of Christ. Zoeckler even suggests that a climax is intended. The particle "or" (*seu*) is equal to *rather* (*sive mavis*). If this is correct then the thought would be of the Gos-

[372] Epitome, p. 506, 4.
[373] Sol. Decl., p. 593, 22.

pel as culminating in the individually applied assurance coming to us through the ministry of the Word.

## ARTICLE THIRTEEN.

### Of the Use of the Sacraments.

Of the Use of the Sacraments, they teach, that the Sacraments were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather to be signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith in those who use them. Wherefore we must so use the Sacraments that faith be added to believe the promises which are offered and set forth through the Sacraments.

They therefore condemn those who teach that the Sacraments justify by the outward act, and do not teach that, in the use of the Sacraments, faith which believes that sins are forgiven, is required.

De usu Sacramentorum docent, quod sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notae professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos, ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his, qui utuntur, proposita. Itaque utendum est sacramentis ita, ut fides accedat, quae credat promissionibus, quae per sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur.

Damnant igitur illos, qui docent, quod sacramenta ex opere operato iustificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quae credat remitti peccata.

**1. Our Common Ground with Zwingli** is indicated by the introductory remark that the Sacraments are *"marks of profession among men"*. According to Zwingli, the Sacraments were "signs, whereby men may recognize each other", like "the watchword in war", like a "livery" (Apology, p. 213, 1). The Lutherans do not deny that this is one significance of the Sacraments. By using Baptism and the Lord's Supper, men will know each other as Christians. He who is not baptized and

does not go to the Sacrament of the Altar is not a Christian. This view, then, that the Sacrament is "a mark and testimony of profession, just as a particular shape of hood is the sign of a particular profession" (p. 273, 68), is not altogether rejected; but, as Melanchthon continues, "this opinion relates to the outward life, neither does it show the chief use of the things delivered by God; it speaks only of the exercise of love, which men, however profane and worldly, understand; it does not speak of faith, the nature of which few understand".

**2. What is the Chief Significance of the Sacraments?** We read in **our article:** "Of the use of the Sacraments, they teach, that the Sacraments were ordained, not only (*non modo*) to be marks of profession among men, but rather (*sed magis*) to be signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith in those who use them." The **Apology** says (German text, p. 213): They "are efficacious signs and sure testimonies"; they "are the signs and séals of the promises" (216, 20); they "are properly signs of the New Testament, and testimonies of grace and the remission of sins" (215, 14); "signs of grace" (273, 69 f.): The **Formula of Concord** adds that grace is offered to all (563, 57); the merit and benefits of Christ are *"offered, presented* and *distributed* to us through His Word and Sacraments" (652, 16). Again: "Therefore Christ causes the promise of the Gospel to be offered not only in general, but through the Sacraments, which he attaches as seals of the promise; he seals and thereby especially confirms it". (656, 37).

Our Augustana text says that the Sacraments are "instituted to *awaken* and *confirm* faith in those who use

them". **Baptism,** which is to *awaken* faith, is to us a testimony, a seal and a pledge for the forgiveness of our sins and our regeneration through the Holy Spirit. Through all our life we are to use Baptism for this purpose. The **Sacrament of the Altar** is to *confirm* faith in us and to nourish our spiritual life. It is testimony, seal and pledge of the closest communion with our Saviour, whose Body and Blood we eat and drink for the remission of sins.

**3. What is, therefore, necessary for receiving the Benefits of the Sacraments?** "That faith be added to believe the promises which are offered and set forth through the Sacraments." Let us not overlook that Melanchthon, in this article, is on the defensive chiefly **against Rome** with its external and magic conceptions of the Sacraments, which exclude the ethical elements. Therefore **faith is emphasized.** But by faith **Melanchthon meant** something more than the Romanists did when they spoke of faith. To them faith was merely knowledge of and consent to what the Church teaches. Melanchthon says in the Apology: "And here we speak of *special faith,* which believes the present promise, not only that which in general believes that God exists, but which believes that the remission of sins is offered. This use of the Sacrament consoles godly and alarmed minds" (216, 21). Putting ourselves on the defensive against the subjectivism of the **Reformed Churches** which overemphasize faith and deny the existence of the Sacrament where there is no faith, thus destroying the objectivity of the means of grace, we would say: Our faith does not make the Sacrament, but it is the hand with which we receive their benefits.

**4. Rejection of the Opus Operatum.** "They therefore condemn those who teach that the Sacraments justify by the outward act," etc. The Sacraments do not justify *ex opere operato",* as we read in the Latin text. This last paragraph of our article was **not in the documents delivered at Augsburg,** but was added by Melanchthon when the first edition for print was prepared. It is not in the German copy, because this dates from a time when the Confession was not fully finished.[374] This is a very important addition, and can have been omitted in the original texts only because of the **conciliatory interests** of Melanchthon at Augsburg. In the **Apology** (216, 18) he speaks out: "Here we condemn the whole crowd of scholastic doctors, who teach that the Sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato,* without a good disposition on the part of the one using them, provided he do not place a hindrance in the way." The **Roman view** is that the Sacraments communicate their benefits to every participant who does not intentionally hinder the operation of grace, faith not being necessary. It is reported that in foreign missionary work, Roman Catholic missionaries have taken children from heathen parents, secretly baptizing them, and then reported them as Christians.

**5. Number of Sacraments.** It was not clear to our Reformers right at the beginning of the Reformation how many of the seven Roman Sacraments they should admit to be Sacraments. In his writing on the **Babylonian Captivity** of the Church (1520), Luther, for the first time, reduced the number of Sacraments to three: Bap-

[374] Compare our introduction to the Augsb. Confession, sect. 9, a.

tism, Absolution and the Lord's Supper.[375] In the **Apology**, Melanchthon defines Sacraments as follows: *"Rites which have the command of God and to which the promise of grace has been added,"* and then he gives that much quoted statement: "Therefore *Baptism,* the *Lord's Supper* and *Absolution,* which is the Sacrament of repentance, are truly Sacraments."[376] In his article on Repentance, Melanchthon says: "And absolution properly can be called a Sacrament of Repentance, as also the more learned scholastic theologians speak."[377] But in his **Large Catechism** Luther again speaks in this way: "We have yet to speak of our two Sacraments, instituted by Christ" (466, 1). And a little later, in the same discussion, he writes: "Here you perceive that Baptism, both in its power and significance, comprehend also the third Sacrament, which has been called repentance, as it is really nothing else than Baptism" (475, 74). The whole arrangement in the **Augsburg Confession** (first, in IX and X, Baptism and Lord's Supper, and then after Confession and Repentance, in XI and XII, our article on the Use of the Sacraments) indicates that here also Absolution was thought of as a Sacrament. The same view is found in **Melanchthon's** Wittenberg Reformation (1545) and in the Leipzig Interim (1548). Joh. Matthesius, in his sermons, mentions this *trias* many times. It is of interest also that many of the oldest communion cups of the Lutheran Church have engraved upon them the emblems of Baptism, Supper and Absolution. But in the end, the feeling of Luther that Abso-

[375] Erl. Ed. vol. 47, p. 82. Comp. Koestlin-Hay, "Theology of Luther," I, 264, 355, 403 ff. II, 532, 536.

[376] Apology 213, 3; 214, 4.

[377] Ibid., p. 183, 4.

lution was a constituent part of the two Sacraments has prevailed in the Lutheran Church.

## ARTICLE FOURTEEN.

### Of Ecclesiastical Order.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Ecclesiastical Order, they teach, that no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments, unless he be regularly called. | De ordine ecclesiastico docent, quod nemo debeat in ecclesia publice docere aut sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus. |

**1. A Statement against the Enthusiasts.** The Anabaptists, the Socinians and the Quakers were opposed to an appointed public ministry. The Anabaptists and the Quakers especially held to the view that any one who was moved by the Spirit should have the right to speak and teach in the Church. Their position was that the outward Word, written in the Bible or preached by an appointed ministry, cannot enlighten, convert, sanctify, because the Spirit works directly. So a special ministry was rejected. In connection with this, education was declared to be unnecessary. Against these tendencies the statement of our article is opposed: *"None should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments, unless he be regularly called."* Without a regularly called ministry *(rite vocatus)* there would be disorder in the Church. The principle expressed in this brief article is to secure ecclesiastical order, so that everything be done "decently and in order" in the Church (1 Cor. 14:40). Luther says: "If all would run together to baptize the child they would drown it." *(Wenn sie alle wuerden herbei laufen, das Kind zu taufen, dann wuerden sie es ersaufen).*

### 2. The Constituent Elements and Factors of the "rite vocatus".

(a) The call which is here mentioned is the call from the Church as the congregation of believers and defined in Article VII. **Silence on the inner call** in this article does not mean that this side of the call is in any way discounted in the Lutheran Church. The Augsburg Confession must be understood historically; in its articles there is no intention to deal with the treated subjects systematically and exhaustively. Here it was necessary to emphasize against the Anabaptists the outward call, and, in addition to that, the Lutherans wanted to set themselves right in the eyes of the Romanists, who were watching them with grave suspicion in this point, because of their definition of the Church as being not essentially an outward organization, but the congregation of true believers.

**Note:** Dr. Jacobs, in his *Summary of Christian Faith*". (p. 426), quotes Gerhard on the inner call in the following words: "We grant that God, by an inner impulse, inspires the purpose to assume the office of the ministry, without regard to its perils and difficulties. To this belongs the secret impulse which leads some to study theology. We grant also that in accepting the holy office, no one should be influenced by avarice or ambition or any vicious desire, but by the sincere love of God and the desire of edifying the Church. If any one be disposed to call these two praiseworthy dispositions 'a secret call', we do not greatly object. Meanwhile we warn, *first,* that, on account of such inner or secret call, no one ought to assume the duties of the ministry, unless an external and regular call of the Church be added, lest the doors be opened for Anabaptistic confusions and enthusiastic revelations. . . . We warn also, in the *second* place, that the call of that person does not immediately cease to be a call, whose mind, in undertaking the ministerial office, was perhaps

contaminated in the beginning by the taint of ambition or avarice or any other impure motive."

(b) The **emphasis is here laid upon the external call** by the Church, that is, by the congregation of true believers as it of necessity comes into visibility and is known as an organized congregation, or by congregations represented in synod. As to the question how the individual receives the call to the ministry and where the authority is vested, there are **two views,** both of which have eminent advocates in the Lutheran Church. (1) Luther held the so-called *transference theory:* The clerical office rests upon the priesthood of all believers. To all members of the congregation belongs the office of the keys, of administering the Sacraments, of preaching. But not all can preach, and if they could, it would create confusion should all have the right to exercise the clerical functions. Therefore, the individual members of the congregation agree to transfer their rights to one whom they call and who now acts in their place.[378] The Missouri Synod, following Dr. Walther, has made these views of Luther its official doctrine. We agree with Dr. Jacobs when he says: "There is no Scriptural foundation for the idea that, simply for the sake of good order, there is a transfer to one individual of rights that belong to each individual in a congregation."[379] (2) The other view is that "the right to call is *not limited to any class* within the Church. It belongs neither to the ministry alone, nor to the laity alone; but to both in due order".[380] Where the local congregation would act alone,

[378] See Koestlin, Theology of Luther, I, 373; II, 543; I, 372, 406; II, 86 f.; 542 f.

[379] *Summary of Christian Faith,* p. 424. Dieckhoff, *Luther's Lehre von der Kirchlichen Gewalt,* p. 88 f. Harless, *Kirche und Amt.,* § 10-15.

[380] Dr. Jacobs, *ut supra,* p. 427.

without the aid of the ministry, it would exclude the very persons "whose training and experience best fit them for judging the qualifications of candidates". Then it must be remembered that when an individual is called into the ministry, it should be done in such a manner that not only the one congregation which at the present moment is extending the call is served, but any congregation that shall be in need of his services. Therefore, in calling a minister into the clerical office there should be the coöperation of the Church at large, by the local congregations represented in synods, composed of both laymen and ministers. The exclusion of the laity would be against Scripture, because the power of the keys is given to the whole Church (Matth. 16:18); the laymen, while needing the support of trained ministers, are nevertheless exhorted to test the teachers (Matth. 7:15; 1 Thess. 5:21; 1 John 4:1); and the example of the Apostolic Church shows that the laity are not to be excluded in the act of calling into the holy office. (Acts 1:23; 6:3; 14:23). Yea, we would even say that under primitive conditions of the Church, in missionary periods, in cases of extreme necessity, where there is no ministry present and where two or three laymen should join as a congregation, the laity alone would be justified in calling a pastor. Melanchthon says: "Where there is, therefore, a true Church, the right to elect and to ordain ministers necessarily exists. Just as in a case of necessity even a layman absolves and becomes the minister and pastor of another; as Augustine narrates the story of two Christians in a ship, one of whom baptized the catechumen, who after baptism, in turn absolved the baptizer."[381] Also in case "the bishops are heretics, or

[381] Smalcald Articles, Appendix, p. 350. Compare Zoeckler, *Augsb. Conf.*, p. 246.

will not ordain suitable persons, the churches are in duty bound before God, according to divine law, to ordain for themselves pastors and ministers".[382]

**Note 1:** As to the co-operation between laity and ministers in calling to the holy office, much has been left to the liberty and experience of the Church. But after the Church has developed a settled practice, born out of the needs of the time and not opposed to Scripture principles, such practice should be observed for the sake of good order (cf. Art. XV).

**Note 2:** To see the almost absolute necessity of the ministry's co-operation with the laity in calling into the holy office we need only to be reminded of the indispensable education (theological seminary) and examination, which are to take place before the congregation can extend the call with safety.

**Note 3:** The view of how the call is received will influence the estimate of ordination. On the basis of the *transference theory*, ordination will be looked upon as merely the confirmation of the act of transferring in an individual charge the office of the ministry by the many priests to the one. According to the *other view* (co-operation between laity and ministry), ordination appears as an historically developed liturgical form of the Church for introduction into the ministry as a calling for life of an individual who, by the laity in co-operation with the ministry, has been found to be qualified for this office which he from now on is to exercise not only in the one congregation that has presently called him, but in any congregation that in the future might want to call him.[383]

**3. Can the Work of Laymen in the Church be Justified on the basis of our Article?** Let us keep as a guide before us the leading thought of our article. It treats of **"ecclesiastical order".** The object is that everything be done "decently and in order" in the Church (1 Cor. 15:40).

---

[382] Appendix, p. 350, 72.

[383] Compare Geo. J. Fritschel, in J. L. Neve's *Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 2nd ed., pp. 279 ff. and 282 f.

(a) According to the reading of this article, can they who have not been ordained for the ministry *teach in Sunday-schools* and *conduct devotional services in Young People's meetings?* Note that it here says "that no one should **publicly** teach in the Church," etc. By this was meant the public teaching of the Word on Sundays in the pulpit. This is a work that shall be left to the regularly called pastor of the congregation or to a person whom he appoints in his place. Sunday-school and the work of special departments in the Church is something altogether different from what is spoken of here.

(b) But an able *layman or a theological student* may in times of vacancy serve even in the pulpit, in the **regular services** of the sanctuary, by reading a sermon or preaching. Only *two things are necessary:* (1) There must be the call for each occasion, and (2) it must not be a permanent matter.[384]

(c) Our article says "that none should administer the Sacraments, unless he be regularly called". This is a universally acknowledged rule in the Lutheran Church. Deviation from this rule has met with decided protest. We call to mind the Waldenstroem movement in the Swedish Church.[385] Yet we have to admit that *in cases of extreme necessity*, a deviation even from this rule is justifiable. In Article IX we spoke of a Baptism by laymen in *agone mortis (Nottaufe)*. Can we also speak of the **distribution of the Lord's Supper by a layman** as a case of necessity? It must not be left out of consideration that our Confession says of *Baptism only* that

---

[384] Comp. Jacobs, Summary, p. 430.

[385] See J. L. Neve, Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 234.

it "is necessary to salvation" (Article IX). The same is not said of the Lord's Supper. It is not fundamental for salvation in the same degree as Baptism. But how in a case where the need is felt with great intensity and, in the absence of an ordained minister, a layman is called upon to administer the Sacrament? Perhaps here the above quotation from the Appendix to the Smalcald Articles would apply, of the story narrated by Augustine, of "two Christians in a ship, one of whom baptizes the catechumen, who after Baptism absolved the baptizer".

**4. Our article knows nothing** of a call becoming valid because of an ordination by a *bishop* (Roman Catholic, Episcopal Churches), or an *Apostle* (Irvingites), or of the necessity of an *Apostolic succession* (the hobby of the Episcopalians). All our article insists upon is *the call of the Church* for the sake of good order.

**5. The Power and the Authority of the Minister in his Congregation.** According to Article XXVIII **it is** "a power or commandment of God, to preach the Gospel, to remit and retain sins, and to administer Sacraments" (61, 15). This is based on John 20:21 ff and Mark 16:15. In the Apology this "ministry of the Word and Sacraments" **is called** the "power of order" *(potestas ordinis)*. **"He has also** the power of jurisdiction *(potestas jurisdictionis)*, i. e., the authority to excommunicate those guilty of open crimes, and again to absolve them if they are converted and seek absolution."[386] The Smalcald Articles repeat this with reference to the power of jurisdiction: "It is manifest that

[386] Apology, p. 297, 13.

the common jurisdiction of excommunicating those guilty of manifest crimes belongs to the pastors."[387]

**6. Church Government in External things.** The question here is, of what kind is the right of government outside of the local congregation over affairs of the local congregation? While in a government of this kind laity and ministry are in coöperation (District Synods, General Bodies), yet it is in general the judgment, experience and training of ministers, which determines the direction of such government. What is the authority, according to our Confessions, of such government? Since here the organization has usually assumed a form in which one or several persons have authority over others, let us formulate our discussion as follows:

(a) The New Testament recognizes no **distinction between bishops and presbyters.** Therefore the Smalcald Articles deny that the Roman bishop is by divine right above other bishops and pastors (Appendix, p. 339, 7; 349, 62 ff). That there are different grades of ministers of the Word is not admitted to be of divine right. If there always have been and always will be *primi inter pares* and a subordination of equals to each other, it must be remembered that it is solely to secure good order in the Church and to help the local congregations in their work.

(b) To such government our Confessions refer when they speak of "bishops and pastors".[388] **The Church needs a government outside of the local congregation, but its authority is entirely subordinate to that of the local congregation.** "The ministry of

[387] Appendix, p. 351, 74; 347, 60. Note that the Augsburg Confession (Art. XXVIII) says that this power is to be exercised "without human force, simply by the Word".

[388] Art. XXVIII of the Augustana, §§ 20, 23, 34, 49, 53, 69.

preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments is above that which is occupied with the details of Church government and external administration."[389] This is expressed in the following rules laid down in the Confessions: (1) "Where the regular bishops persecute the Gospel and refuse to ordain suitable persons, every church has in this case full authority to ordain its own ministers."[390] (2) The bishops have no power to decree anything against the Gospel.[391] They must not "make ordinances . . . that thereby we should merit grace or make satisfaction for sins, or that consciences be bound to judge them necessary services".[392] To these we add (3) that the power of such external government is not to be exercised by the rigid enforcement of laws, but by appealing to the judgment and consciences of the individual members of the local congregations.

## ARTICLE FIFTEEN.

### Of Rites and Usages.

Articles XXVI, XXVIII (pp. 53-64).

Of Rites and Usages in the Church, they teach, that those ought to be observed which may be observed without sin, and which are profitable unto tranquility and good order in the Church, as particular holydays, festivals, and the like.

Nevertheless, concerning such

De ritibus ecclesiasticis docent, quod ritus illi servandi sint, qui sine peccato servari possunt et prosunt ad tranquillitatem et bonum ordinem in ecclesia, sicut certae feriae, festa et similia.

De talibus rebus tamen admonentur homines, ne conscientiae onerentur tamquam

[389] Jacobs, *ut supra*, p. 444.
[390] Smalcald Articles, appendix, p. 349, 65 ff.
[391] Art. XXVIII, §§ 34, 23.
[392] Ibid. §§ 53, 39, 61.

things, let men be admonished that consciences are not to be burdened, as though such observance was necessary to salvation. They are admonished also that human traditions instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning meats and days, etc., instituted to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.

talis cultus ad salutem necessarius sit.

Admonentur etiam, quod traditiones humanae institutae ad placandum Deum, ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis adversentur evangelio et doctrinae fidei. Quare vota et traditiones de cibis et diebus cet. institutae ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis inutiles sint et contra evangelium.

There is a certain connection between this article and Article VII where we read: "Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike." In fact, this sentence is **the theme** of Article XV as well as XXVI, and some parts of Article XXVIII must be taken in this connection.

**1. The Aim of this Article is** to lay down principles regarding usages that cannot claim to have a divine commandment to support them. Things that God has clearly commanded in His Word must be observed. There can be no argument about that. *But how with so many things which have come to be usages in the whole Church, or in parts of the Church, on which there may be difference of opinion as to whether they can be demanded or not?* For instance, what shall be our attitude toward the order of service (liturgy), toward the question of holy days (Christmas, Easter, Good Friday, Ascension Day, Pentecost)? We find a complete enumer-

ation of things that Melanchthon had in mind in the corresponding article of the Apology, p. 224 f. Here principles are laid down by which we may be guided.

**Note:** This article brings out the **difference between the Lutheran and the Puritan churches,** although its contents are directed more against Rome. Things which the Puritan churches, following Zwingli, rejected our Lutheran Church admits. *Zwingli* did away with church festivals outside of the Sunday, as he was also opposed to bells, organs, altars, paintings, the cross, the pericopes and liturgical formulas. His ideal of the Church was "a spiritual Sparta".[393] Over against this radicalism, which found special expression among the Presbyterians in Scotland and among the Puritans in general, *Luther* followed more conservative tendencies, recognizing the history of the Church. This tendency is without special argument expressed in our article. The real argument is here with the Roman Church.

**2. The Principles that should guide us** in the observation or rejection of rites and usages in the Church, are the following:

(a) *Ceremonies that are divinely commanded must be maintained.* Such are the Sacraments of the Church.[393a]

(b) *With respect to ceremonies that God has not commanded there must be liberty.* This is especially emphasized in Article XXVI of the Confession. (Augsburg Confession, pp. 56, 42-46). **Ceremonies should not be multiplied** in the Church (53: 1-3), because (1) they tend to obscure the doctrine of free grace (p. 53, 4 ff.); (2) they obscure also the commandments of God by leading men to think lightly of the divine commandments with respect to their ordinary calling (p. 54, 8 ff.); they become (3) a burden to men's conscience when they

[393] Zoeckler, p. 256. J. Stahl, *Luth. Kirche und Union,* p. 12 ff.
[393a] Apol. pp. 213, 2; 226, 34 ff.

judge these observances to be necessary acts of worship (pp. 54, 12; also 63, 37.49; 64, 39 ff.). **Immersion** might be mentioned here, because in the Apology also such ceremonies are excluded that cannot be performed "without great inconvenience" (*227*, 51).

(c) *Yet our article speaks of rites and usages which "ought to be observed"*. In Article XXV we read: "And nevertheless we teach that in these matters the use of liberty is so controlled, that . . . without a reasonable cause nothing in customary rites be changed" (*227*, 51). **When may we say that rites and usages ought to be observed?** Let us state (1) that such ought to be observed of which must be held that they **"are profitable",** which help that "all things in the churches might be done in order and becomingly" (Apol. 221, 2), and also help to maintain harmony (*227*, 51; 56, 53). **For instance:** Melanchthon argues in Article XXVI, on the basis of the history of the ancient Church, that *in itself there is no divine obligation* to celebrate Easter and to observe it everywhere at one and the same time (p. 56, 40); there is not even a divine obligation to observe the Lord's Day on Sunday instead of Saturday (p. 65, 58). *And yet, for the sake of good order*, "that the people might know when they ought to come together" we should not make use of our liberty but rather yield to the established usage of the Church to assemble "on a certain day". Again (2) legitimate rites and usages ought to be observed **"for the sake of charity".** So we read at many places in the Confessions. It is especially emphasized that offense should not be given to others,[894] the *inexperienced* should not be offended.[895]

[894] Art. XXVIII, pp. 53-56.
[895] Apol. 298, 16. Formula of Concord, p. 523, 13.

Finally (3) the Formula of Concord, in Article X on Adiaphora, added another reason which developed out of the adiaphoristic controversies, namely the duty of **professing the truth:** "In time of persecution, when a bold confession is required of us, we should not yield to the enemies in regard to such adiaphora. . . . For in such a case it is no longer a question concerning adiaphora, but concerning the truth of the Gospel," etc.[396] The following passages of Scripture are quoted: Gal. 5, 1; 2 Cor. 6, 14; Gal. 2, 5; 1 Cor. 8, 9; Rom. 14, 13.

**Note:** Already the Marburg (13) and the Schwabach articles (17), as also the edition of the Confession of 1533 and the Variata of 1540 laid down principles on the adiaphora. In the Variata we even find the term *res adiaphorae*. It is said of them that *extra casum scandali* they can be omitted without sin. But the thought that *in statu confessionis* they cease to be adiaphora is the special contribution of the Formula of Concord on the basis of the experience in the adiaphoristic controversies.[397] It was Matthias Flacius who in his reply to Melanchthon stated the correct principle: "Nothing is an adiaphoron in a case where profession is to be made and offence might be given (*Nihil est adiaphoron in casu confessionis et scandali*).[397a]

(d) *Which rites and usages must be avoided?* Such as cannot be observed without sin. In **our article** we read: "They are admonished also that human traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning meats and days, etc., instituted to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel." The whole **body of our**

[396] *Epit.* 523, 6. *Sol. Decl.* 644, 5; 645, 10; 648, 28.
[397] See Kurtz, Church History (Eng. edition 1888), II, pp. 141–5.
[397a] Hauck, *R. E.*, VI, art. of Kawerau, p. 84.

**Confessions abounds** with expressions on this subject. The Apology is very outspoken: "For Scripture calls traditions doctrines of demons, when it is taught that religious rites are serviceable to merit the remission of sins and grace" (p. 218, 4). "If the adversaries defend these human services as meriting justification, grace and the remission of sins, they absolutely establish the kingdom of Antichrist" (220, 18). Daniel (11, 38) indicates that new human services will be the very form and constitution of Antichrist" (221, 19).

**3. Does the Sunday come under the discussion of Rites and Usages in the Church?**

**(a) The Augsburg Confession.** The Sunday is not mentioned in this article which speaks only of "particular holy days, festivals and the like". Neither is it mentioned in the Apology, although there the whole language sounds as if Melanchthon was including the Sunday (cf. 221, 2). But in Article XXVIII (65, 53) we read: "What, then, are we to think of the Sunday and like rites in the house of God?" Again: "Of this kind is the observance of the Lord's Day, Easter, and Pentecost, and like holy days and rites. For those who judge that, by authority of the Church, the observance of the Lord's Day, instead of the Sabbath Day, was ordained as a thing necessary, do greatly err *(longe errant)*. Scripture has abrogated the Sabbath Day; for it teaches that, since the Gospel has been revealed, all the ceremonies of Moses can be omitted. And yet, because it was necessary to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the Church (the Apostles) designated the Lord's Day for this purpose; and this day seems to have been chosen all the more for this addi-

tional reason, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the keeping neither of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, was necessary." Protest is made even against the thought that the Apostles had changed the law with respect to the day (p. 66, 61). There is admitted in this discussion (1) that by not observing the day we may make ourselves guilty of the sin of giving "offense to others". That this must be avoided is repeated three times: "Without offense to others" *(sine offensione aliorum)*. The thought always recurs: "It is proper that the churches should keep such ordinances for the sake of charity and tranquillity." It is admitted (2) that it is lawful for the authorities of the Church "to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together" for worship, so that "things be done orderly in the Church", but it is insisted upon (3) that the observance of the day is not "necessary to salvation", as it is to be numbered among "the ceremonies of Moses", which have been abrogated according to Col. 2: 16.

**(b) The Large Catechism** of Luther must be taken together with the expositions of Melanchthon in the Augsburg Confession. Luther, in his interpretation of the third commandment, says that this commandment "according to its *gross sense* does not pertain to us Christians", the Sabbath "in this gross sense" is numbered among "the other ordinances of the Old Testament", "which have now been made free through Christ". Yet Luther wants the day to be recognized as a day of rest, "first of all for bodily causes and necessities, which nature teaches and requires; and for the common people, man-servants and maid-servants, who are occupied the

whole week with their work and trade, that for a day they may forbear, in order to rest and be refreshed". Luther agrees with Melanchthon that an observance of the Lord's Day cannot be based upon the Law of Moses. He bases it upon the order of creation. Man needs a day of rest. He retains the commandment: "Remember the Sabbath (Feiertag, day of rest) to keep it holy." He asks: "What is meant by keeping it holy?" and then answers: "Nothing else than to be occupied in holy words, works and life. For the day needs no sanctification for itself; for in itself it has been created holy (German text: From the beginning of the creation it was sanctified by its Creator). But God desires it to be holy to thee." To Luther it is an important thing that one day of the week be sanctified in a special way and used for holy things. "But this, I say, *is not limited to any time, as with the Jews, that it must be just on this or that day;* for in itself no one day is better than another day." But the chief thing for Luther is "that on such day of rest (since otherwise it cannot be accomplished) time and opportunity be taken to attend divine service". We can go too far in emphasizing the abrogation of the Sabbath. True, the Sabbath is abrogated, especially the ceremonial part of it (to which belongs also the insistence on "this or that day"), but Luther insists upon a day of rest,which we should use as the Lord's Day "so that we meet and hear and treat of God's Word". Luther says: "Since, therefore, so much depends upon God's Word that without it no Sabbath can be kept holy, we ought to know that God will insist upon a strict observance of this commandment, and will punish all who despise His Word and are not willing to

hear and to learn it, especially at the time appointed for this purpose."[398]

## ARTICLE SIXTEEN.

### Of Civil Affairs.

Of Civil Affairs, they teach, that lawful civil ordinances are good works of God, and that it is right for Christians to bear civil office, to sit as judges, to determine matters by the Imperial and other existing laws, to award just punishments, to engage in just wars, to serve as soldiers, to make legal contracts, to hold property, to make oath when required by the magistrates, to marry, to be given in marriage.

They condemn the Anabaptists who forbid these civil offices to Christians. They condemn also those who do not place the perfection of the Gospel in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking civil offices; for the Gospel teaches an eternal righteousness of the heart. Meanwhile, it does not destroy the State or the family, but especially requires their preservation as ordinances of God, and in such ordinances the exercise of charity. Therefore,

De rebus civilibus docent, quod legitimae ordinationes civiles sint bona opera Dei, quod christianis liceat gerere magistratus, exercere iudicia, iudicare res ex imperatoriis et aliis praesentibus legibus, supplicia iure constituere, iure bellare, militare, lege contrahere, tenere proprium, iusiurandum postulantibus magistratibus dare, ducere uxorum, nubere.

Damnant Anabaptistas, qui interdicunt haec civilia officia christianis.

Damnant et illos, qui evangelicam perfectionem non collocant in timore Dei et fide, sed in deserendis civilibus officiis, quia evangelium tradit iustitiam aeternam cordis. Interim non dissipat politiam aut oeconomiam, sed maxime postulat conservare tamquam ordinationes Dei, et in talibus ordinationibus exercere caritatem. Itaque necessario debent christiani obedire magistratibus suis et legibus; nisi quum iubent peccare, tunc

[398] A thorough treatment of the Luth. conception of the Sunday was given in the Evangelical Quarterly Review of 1869, pp. 524-555 by H. E. Jacobs.

Christians are necessarily bound to obey their own magistrates and laws, save only when commanded to sin, for then they ought to obey God rather than men. (Acts 5:29).

enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus. Actor. 5, 29.

**The leading thoughts of this article** may be expressed in the following three statements: (1) Civil government is a divine institution. (2) It is right to hold property. (3) Marriage is a state pleasing to God. In Article XV we had an expression of Lutheran conservatism in Church matters; here it is the **principle of conservatism with reference to matters civil** (in *rebus civilibus)*. In the Variata of 1540 a remark which is characteristic for the Lutheran Church was added: *Artes probatas legibus exercere.* The exercise of legitimate arts belongs to the things which shall have a right in the Christian Church. The conservative principle of Lutheranism has encouraged the cultivation of science and art.

**1. The Teaching of our Church on Civil Government.** The text of the Confession says: "They teach, that lawful civil ordinances are good works of God." To this the **Anabaptists** were opposed, who taught that among Christians there was no government necessary. Such an attitude the **Lutherans** regarded as an ignoring of the natural order. We have to live under a government "just as we have been necessarily placed under the laws of seasons, the changes of winter and summer" (Apology, p. 228, 58). In Rom. 13:1 we read: "There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." *What follows from this principle?*

**(a) The duty of obedience to the government.** Our article closes with the admonishment: "Therefore, Christians are necessarily to obey their own magistrates and laws, save only when commanded to sin, for then they ought to obey God rather than men. (Acts 5:29). Paul taught obedience to the government *even though a Nero* was on the throne. According to Romans 13 we must be subject to the "powers that be". The Apology says: "The Gospel . . . commands that we obey present laws, whether they have been framed by heathen or by others" (p. 227, 55). *An evil government is better than no government.* It is characteristic of the Lutheran Church that it has always been **opposed to revolution.** In this *Lutherans* differ from the *Reformed* people who have ever been quick to take up arms against the government. Only when the government should command us to sin then are we justified in not obeying, according to Acts 5:29.

**(b) We are justified in making use of the different forms of public redress.** This also follows from the principle that civil government is a divine institution. After the Apology has stated that *"private redress* is prohibited not by advice, but by command" (Matth. 5:39; Rom. 12:19) it proceeds by saying: *"Public redress,* which is made through the office of the magistrate, is not advised against, but is commanded, and is a work of God, according to Paul (Rom. 13: 1 ff). Now the **different kinds of public redress** are legal decisions, capital punishment, wars, military service."[399] To this we may add from our article the *"oath* when required by the magistrates."[400] On *wars* our article says that it

[399] Apol. 228 (59). Cf. Formula of Concord 530 (12 ff.)
[400] See also Formula of Concord, p. 530 (15).

must be "just wars". To this the Formula of Concord adds that a Christian can with a good conscience be even a "maker of arms".[401] The legitimacy of *capital punishment* is defended in the Formula of Concord both in the Epitome (530, 16) and in the Solid Declaration (669, 21).

**Note:** The Socinians, the Mennonites and the Quakers, etc., reject war and capital punishment; the Mennonites and the Quakers also the making of oath and the going to law.

(c) **It is right for Christians to bear civil office.** (Apol. 227, 53. Formula of Concord, Epit. p. 530, 13, Sol. Decl., p. 668, 18).

**Note:** The Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) say that a Christian cannot bear civil office, unless the constitution of the government recognizes God as the source of all power. As to the teaching of our Confessions on the separation between Church and State, see below (d).

(d) Christians can **"sit as judges, to determine matters by the Imperial and other existing laws,** to award just punishments". *The "existing laws" of a country are not always identical with the divine laws.* They cannot be. The **divine laws** as contained in the Holy Scriptures, in many cases, have to express the Christian ideal, while the **laws of a civil government,** under the existing conditions of society, cannot go above the level of general ethics. For instance, the *divorce laws* of a country cannot be confined to the same as to what the Scriptures permit as grounds for a divorce. But then **the question** comes: Can a Christian be a judge and determine matters by the "existing laws"? According to our article, he can. He needs only be

[401] Epitome, p. 531 (18).

"just". The Lutheran Church does not believe in a theocracy such as Calvin endeavored to establish in Geneva, and Knox had intended in Scotland. Lutheranism has always stood for a *separation between Church and State.*

**2. The teaching of our Church on the Right to hold Property.** Our article says: "It is right for Christians . . . to make legal contracts, to hold property." To this the German text adds: to buy and to sell (in old German: *Keuffen und verkeuffen*). It is **not "Christian perfection** not to hold property" (228, 56), nor is the Christian "in duty bound to devote it to the Church".[402] Melanchthon says: "For Scripture does not command that property be common, but the Law of the Decalogue, when it says (Ex. 20:15): 'Thou shalt not steal', distinguishes rights of ownership, and commands each one to hold what is his own". (Apol. 226, 63). All this is evidently **aimed at the Romanists** with their claim that the life of poverty in the monastery — Melanchthon calls it a Satanic Communion (229, 56) — is a life of perfection. The question has been raised whether Christians can loan money on interest. **Usury** is forbidden in the Scriptures, but with reference to **loaning money on interest,** we quote the following words of the Apology: "There are infinite discussions concerning contracts, in reference to which good consciences can never be satisfied, unless they know the rule that it is lawful for a Christian to make use of civil ordinances and laws." (229, 64)[403]

---

[402] Formula of Concord, Epit. 531 (17). Sol. Decl. 669 (22).

[403] Comp. Luther on the seventh commandment in the Large Catechism.

**3. The Teaching of our Church on the state of Marriage.** It is right for Christians "to marry, to be given in marriage". Melanchthon changed this in his Variata of 1540 to *contrahere* **legitima** *conjugia,* a silent reference, evidently, to the recently contracted bigamy of Philip of Hessia, over the publicity of which Melanchthon was much worried.[404] The *Lutheran Church* destroys neither the state nor "*the family,* but especially requires their preservation as ordinances of God." The *Romanists* regarded the married life as an inferior state and therefore demanded celibacy for the priests. Against these, Articles XXIII and XXVII in Confession and Apology are directed. The Lutheran Church stands for the principle that the Christian virtues shall be exercised in the state of marriage.

## ARTICLE SEVENTEEN.

### Christ's Return to Judgment.

Also they teach, that, at the Consummation of the World, Christ shall appear for judgment, and shall raise up all the dead; he shall give to the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys, but ungodly men and the devils he shall condemn to be tormented without end.

They condemn the Anabaptists who think that there will be an end to the punishments of condemned men and devils. They condemn also others, who are now spreading

Item docent, quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad iudicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam aeternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem poenarum futurum esse.

Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt iudaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mor-

[404] C. Schmidt, Melanchthon, p. 367 ff.

certain Jewish opinions that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed [exterminated].

tuorum pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis.

This article closes the body of doctrines treated in the Augsburg Confession.[405] The Schwabach Articles also closed with Christ's return to judgment (in Art. XV).

**1. Christ's Return for Judgment.**

**A complete doctrine of eschatology is not given** in this article. The **aim** of the Augsburg Confession, as we have found everywhere, is not at a doctrinal compendium (like Melanchthon's Loci), but merely at *offering a Confession* with special reference to such points of doctrine that are characteristic to Lutheranism as a church. And it *confines itself to the essential,* and to such things which have a clear foundation in the Scriptures. This article does not transgress upon that which is speculative and upon things which touch with philosophy (for instance, the immortality of the soul and the intermediate state). *We can also observe the conciliatory tendency* in this article. It says nothing on Antichrist and nothing on purgatory. Luther had expected an expression on these subjects as we know from his letter to Dr. Jonas.[406] The Lutherans believed that the papacy

[405] The following three articles (18, 19, and 20) are supplementary: 18 and 19 supplement Art. II, and 20 the Articles IV and VI. The last article of the doctrinal part of the Confession (21 on Invocation of Saints) prepares for the articles of the second part on abuses.

[406] De Wette, *Luther's Briefe* IV, 110; Enders, *Luther's Briefwechsel* VIII, 133.

was part of the revelation of Antichrist,[407] and they rejected the Roman doctrine of purgatory,[408] but the Confessors at Augsburg did not regard it wise to mention these matters here.

**a. Christ's coming for judgment:** (1) He shall "appear", i. e., *visibly* (Acts 1:11). (2) He shall appear *"for judgment"* (John 5:22 . 27.)

b. Christ "shall **raise up all the dead".** It is interesting to observe that in a former draft of our Confession Melanchthon had written "that all deceased men shall be raised up *with the same body in which they died".* This he changed before the delivery of the documents to the present reading. It reminds us of the discussion there has been on the question, whether we should speak of a resurrection of the *body,* or of the *flesh.* We have discussed this matter in the treatment of the Apostles' Creed and, therefore, can refer to I, 2 (p. 47 ff.) in this book.

c. There will be **two classes:** (1) "the *godly and elect"* to whom shall be given "eternal life and everlasting joys", and (2) the *"ungodly men and devils"* who shall be condemned and tormented without end. This stumbling block of the Universalists and the Unitarians is brought to an unequivocal expression, because it is the unmistakable teaching of the Scriptures in many places: John 5:29; Dan. 12:2; Matthew 25: 41-46.

**2. The Rejection of Apokatastasism** is contained in the following words: "They condemn the *Anabap-*

---

[407] Luther wrote: "To me there is no doubt any more that the Pope with the Turk is Antichrist; believe what you will." Erl. Ed. VII, 184. Comp. Book of Concord, p. 220, 18; 320, 10, 13, 14; 345, 39; 346, 41.

[408] Apol. 212, 77; 200, 26; 210, 70; Smalcald Art. 315, 13.

*tists* who think that there will be an end to the punishments of the condemned men and devils." That in the end all will be saved was taught for the first time by the Church father *Origen.* Against this doctrine our article opposes the teaching that the ungodly and devils shall "be tormented without end".

**Note:** Some Universalists believe that there will be in the future world a punishment for a time, but that it will be a mere process of purification and that all will be saved in the end. Others again (Adventists and Russellites) believe that the wicked will in the end be annihilated. The word "eternal" in Matthew 25:41 is opposed to this.

**3. The Rejection of Chiliasm.** "They condemn also others who are now spreading certain Jewish opinions, that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed (exterminated.)"

**a. What is chiliasm?** This word, *derived from* the number thousand (chilioi) in Greek, designates a doctrine which has been *built chiefly upon* Rev. 20:2-7, in connection with some other passages of Scripture (1 Cor. 15:25 ff.; 1 Thess. 4:13 ff.; the visions of Hezekiel and Daniel). At the end of time, usually thought to be near at hand, *there shall be*, for a period of about a thousand years, a glorious reign of the visibly appearing Christ and his then living believers, including those of the first resurrection, in the form of an earthly theocracy, in which all evil and the powers of darkness (Antichrist) shall be suppressed.[409] The Chiliasts, in the History of Doctrines, may be viewed in three groups:

[409] See article on chiliasm in *R. E.* III, 805 ff.

First: **The extreme Chiliasts** *(chiliasmus crassus)* who were influenced by Jewish-apocalyptical ideas.[410] They believed exactly as is rejected in our article. *The emphasis is upon* a reign of Christ and his followers in the world, and upon the suppression or extermination of the enemies. The persecution during the first centuries of the Church was the constant stimulation for these chiliastic hopes. As adherents may be enumerated Cerinth, the Ebionites and Montanism. Milder forms were held by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Lactantius Methodius. At the time of Augustine, chiliasm came into disfavor.[411] But it was renewed again with special fanaticism at the Reformation time by the Anabaptists. The first to put it into practice was Thomas Muenzer in the peasants' war (1525) and the Zwickau prophets at Muenster (1534). *Second:* **A middle group of Chiliasts** is not interested in the "Jewish opinions", but would like to do justice to the teaching of the many passages of Scripture on this subject. Some *leading thoughts are these:* Christ, at His appearance, destroys Antichrist, binds Satan, gathers the converts of Israel in the Holy Land, increasing their number by the believers of the first resurrection, and then from here reigns over the whole earth while great missionary activities are extended to all heathen. At the end of the thousand years Satan again comes into power, seducing many and leading his followers against Christ

[410] Expressed in the Book of Henoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, especially the Book of Ezra. The emphasis is upon the following thoughts: the great tribulation of the last times, appearance of the Messiah, war of the nations against the Messiah and their defeat, the coming down of the heavenly Jerusalem, the gathering of the dispersed Israelites, the reign of the Messiah, renovation of the world, universal resurrection, judgment, salvation and condemnation.

[411] Cf. De civitate Dei 20: 7, 9.

and His Kingdom. But he is overcome, and now comes the great resurrection, the day of judgment and eternal salvation for the followers of the Lord. The Chiliasts of this type (*chiliasmus subtilor*), who received their inspiriation chiefly through Bengel and von Hofmann and represent a great host of scholars (Crusius, Delitzsch, Kurtz, Beck, J. P. Lange, the Erlangen school in general), differ greatly among themselves. The *theater* of the chiliastic reign is, according to some, earth and heaven, according to others the earth only, and according to still others Canaan and Jerusalem. The *participants* are according to some the converted Jews and the martyrs, either all of them or those of the last times; according to others all the believers, including those of the Old Testament. Some say, they will be sinless; others, almost sinless. *Christ* is visibly present, at least at times. The *purpose* of the millennium is found in this that the believers are to enjoy the communion with Christ, or to engage in special missionary endeavors.[412] The *condition* is characterized as follows: There will be no wars any more (Is. 9:5; 2:4; Mich. 4:3-4); ferocity and mutual destruction among animals shall cease (Is. 11:6-8); beauty and fertility of the earth is increased (Is. 35:1 ff.; 41:18-19); sun and moon are to shine seven times brighter than at other times (Is. 30:26; 65:17); man shall again reach an age as at the beginning of the race, and the power of death shall diminish (Is. 65:20-22). Then there is,

*Third,* the so-called **chiliasmus subtilissimus,** which consists in the belief that before judgment there will come for the Church a time when the spiritual

[412] Meusel, *Kirchl. Handlexikon* I, 711 ff.

presence of Christ shall be especially felt and a universal religious revival shall take place (Martensen).

**b. The application of our article:** There are **many interpreters** of Article XVII, who insist that *the rejectory sentence refers only to the chiliasm of the first class.* As proof they quote the remark "Jewish opinions", and they call our attention to the words of our text: "who are *now* spreading", etc. We must admit that here Melanchthon does refer to the Anabaptists of the Reformation time, and we know how radical their views were.[413] The Anabaptist movement was very injurious for the reputation of the Lutheran reformation. Dr. Eck's 404 theses (cf. p. 78) linked the Anabaptists to the Lutheran movement, and in the first draft of the Confutation (see p. 293) there was a chapter with the superscription: "The fruit of Luther's teaching as it can be seen in Anabaptism." So the Lutherans were naturally interested in rejecting the responsibility for the views of the Anabaptists.

But **what should be the attitude of "the Church of the Word"** *to the many passages of Scripture, which the Chiliasts have been aiming to interpret?* The confessional representatives of Lutheranism up to this day have always warned against the construction of a doctrine on the basis of the *seemingly* chiliastic passages of Scripture. The teaching of the Scriptures is, at least for our age, not sufficiently clear on this subject. Rev. 20:4-10 seems to contain the outline of the chiliastic system. But it is **not conclusive,** and the chiliastic interpreters may err in their endeavors to use other prophetical parts of Scripture to complete the outline of

---

[413] Cf. Zoeckler, *Augsb. Conf.*, p. 270; Plitt, *Einleitung in die Augsb. Conf.* II, 421.

Rev. 20 into a doctrinal structure. Our attitude to all those parts of Scripture should be that of an open mind for all that the Word of God teaches, but at the same time of greatest care that we do not construct them into a doctrine that is at variance with the analogy of faith (Rom. 12:7).[414]

*Are, then, the Chiliasm of the second and third group rejected by the sentence of our article?* As we have seen, they differ so much among themselves. But while these more modern Chiliasts do not follow "Jewish opinions", and are free from the radicalism of the Anabaptists and must be praised for their aim at doing justice to parts of Scripture that have been more or less neglected, yet the admissibility of the agreement of their views with this article of our Confession must depend upon their **rejection of the following points:** (1) the visible appearance of Christ for a reign of a thousand years before the revelation of Antichrist and judgment day (against Heb. 9:28: Matthew 25:31); (2) an outwardly victorious Kingdom of Christ upon earth (against John 18:36); (3) the expectation, on this side of eternity, of a time when there shall be no struggle with the enemies of Christ, with sin, and when there shall be no cross to bear (against Acts 14:21; Matthew 16:24; Luke 18:8; 17:26).[415]

---

[414] *Augustine* counted the beginning of the millennium from the beginning of the Christian Church and expected its termination at the end of the first thousand years. *Lutheran interpreters,* following Luther himself (cf. J. Koestlin, Theology of Luther II, 575 ff.) who pointed to the symbolic meaning of the number 1000 as indicating a completeness, suggest that by 1000 there may simply be meant the time of grace between the beginning of the Church and Christ's last advent. See W. Rohnert, *Dogmatik der lutherischen Kirche,* p. 590 ff.

[415] In the Variata of 1540 Melanchthon remarks that the Church in this life will always be subject to cross and tribulation.

We are at the close[416] of an attempt to interpret historically the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession with the aid of the rest of the confessional writings in the Book of Concord. The material presented in this part of the book should be gone over again and again after the following Symbols of Lutheranism have been studied historically and in their contents.

## ARTICLE EIGHTEEN.

### Of Free Will.

Of the Freedom of the Will, they teach, that man's will has some liberty for the attainment of civil righteousness, and for the choice of things subject to reason. Nevertheless, it has no power, without the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God, that is, spiritual righteousness; since the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God [I Cor. 2:14]; but this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word. These things are said in as many words by Augustine in his Hypognosticon, book III.: "We grant that all men have a certain freedom of will in judging according to [natural] reason; not such freedom, however, whereby it is capable, without God, either to be-

De libero arbitrio docent, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem iustitiam et deligendas res rationi subiectas. Sed non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendae iustitiae Dei seu iustitiae spiritualis, quia animalis homo non percipit ea, quae sunt Spiritus Dei; sed haec fit in cordibus, quum per verbum Spiritus Sanctus concipitur. Haec totidem verbis dicit Augustinus lib. III. Hypognosticon; *"Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus, habens quidem iudicium rationis, non per quod sit idoneum in iis, quae ad Deum pertinent, sine Deo aut inchoare aut certe peragere, sed tantum in operibus vitae praesentis tam bonis quam etiam malis. Bonis dico, quae de bono naturae oriuntur, id est velle laborare in agro, velle*

[416] See the introductory remark to our Article XVII.

gin, or much less to complete aught in things pertaining to God, but only in works of this life, whether good or evil. 'Good,' I call those works which spring from the good in Nature, that is, to have a will to labor in the field, to eat and drink, to have a friend, to clothe oneself, to build a house, to marry, to learn divers useful arts, or whatsoever good pertains to this life, none of which things are without dependence on the providence of God; yea, of Him and through Him they are and have their beginning, 'Evil,' I call such works as to have a will to worship an idol, to commit murder," etc.

They condemn the Pelagians and others who teach that, without the Holy Ghost, by the power of nature alone, we are able to love God above all things; also to do the commandments of God as touching "the substance of the act."

For, although nature is able in some sort to do the outward work (for it is able to keep the hands from theft and murder), yet it cannot work the inward motions, such as the fear of God, trust in God, chastity, patience, etc.

*manducare et bibere, velle habere amicum, velle habere indumenta, velle fabricare domum, uxorem velle ducere, pecora nutrire, artem discere diversarum rerum bonarum, vel quidquid bonum ad praesentem pertinet vitam. Quae omnia non sine divino gubernaculo subsistunt, imo ex ipso et per ipsum sunt et esse coeperunt. Malis vero dico, ut est velle idolum colere, velle homicidium cet."*

Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui docent, quod sine Spiritu Sancto solis naturae viribus possimus Deum super omnia diligere, item praecepta Dei facere quoad substantiam actuum. Quamquam enim externa opera aliquo modo efficere natura possit (potest enim continere manus a furto, a caede), tamen interiores motus non potest efficere, ut timorem Dei, fiduciam erga Deum, castitatem, patientiam cet.

This is the first of the four supplementary articles, added by the Confessors with the intention to explain more fully

some thoughts dealt with in the body of doctrines of our Augustana. For, as we have stated again and again, the first seventeen articles, up to the one treating of Christ's Return to Judgment, present a body of doctrines, a kind of system, and Articles XVIII to XXI have been added for supplementary purposes. Articles XVIII (of Free Will) and XIX (Cause of Sin) in particular are designed to deal with questions suggested by Article II (of Original Sin), the great fundamental article of anthropology. **How is it with man's Free Will after his fall into sin?** — this is the question to be answered in our Article XVIII.

With this we have already indicated the point of view from which the doctrine of Free Will is here to be discussed. In the Formula of Concord (p. 496) we read: "Since the will of man is found in **four dissimilar states**, namely: 1. Before the fall; 2. Since the fall; 3. After regeneration; 4. After resurrection of the body: the chief question is only concerning the will and ability of man in the **second state,** namely, *what powers, in spiritual things, he has, for himself, since the fall of our first parents and before regeneration, etc.*"

### 1. What CAN the Unregenerate do out of his Own Natural Powers?

"Of the Freedom of Will, they teach, that man's will has some liberty for the attainment of civil righteousness, and for the choice of things subject to reason."

Man has freedom **in external things** (*in rebus externis*), regarding matters "subject to reason", in "outward work"; or as the quotation here attributed to Augustine reads.[417] "We grant that all men have a certain freedom of will in judging according to (natural) reason." "But only in works of this life whether good or evil." Here is declared that man has the power

[417] It is now known that the writing, from which this important quotation is taken (*Hypomnesticon contra Pelagianos et Coelestianos,* also called *Hypognosticon, lib.* III, c. 4, in Aug. *opp. ed. Antv.* X. *App.* p. 8, 9) was not from Augustine. Errors of this kind affect in no manner the confessional substance of the Augustana.

of choice between alternatives. Whatever he does in things subject to reason, the world will hold him responsible, because he is regarded as a person with Free Will. This power more than any other constitutes man a personality. In the will we have the culmination of personality.

a. Among the things mentioned in the quotation attributed to Augustine, there are those *that are external* **in the strictest sense of the term:** "to have a will to labor in the field, to eat and drink, to have a friend, to clothe oneself, to build a house, to marry, to keep cattle, to learn divers arts, or whatsoever good pertains to this life." These are the things which Quenstedt later called *mediate or indifferent,* because by their nature, or in themselves, they are neither good nor bad. He divides them into **three classes:** *"First,* those that pertain to the condition of our nature such as to stand, sit, sleep, eat, drink, and such like, most of which are common to man and brutes, having mainly respect to the vegetative, positive, appetitive, and locomotive powers of the soul. *Second,* such as pertain to our civil and domestic conduct, such as to buy, sell, go to war, to follow a trade. *Third,* such as pertain to the external government and discipline of the Church, such as to teach and hear the Word of God, to observe certain ceremonies, to give and receive the Sacraments, and similar external works, affecting the external senses."[418] In things of this kind the Will of man, of course, is free. Though even here the word *"aliquam"* ("man's will has *some* liberty," German "dass der Mensch *etlichermassen* einen freien Willen hat") must not be overlooked.

[418] Schmid, *Doctr. Theol.,* 3d edition, p. 267.

However, one qualification is given, which should not be overlooked: Even in these altogether external things man cannot act independently of divine providence, neither does the quotation forget to add the words: "none of which things are without dependence on the providence of God; yea, of Him and through Him they are and have their beginning."

b. Among these external things in which "man's will has some liberty" our Confession names **"civil righteousness"** (*"civilem justitiam", "aeusserlich ehrbar zu leben"*), and afterwards speaks of "evil things" (*in rebus malis*), "works as to have a will to worship an idol, to commit murder, etc." This takes us to matters that are in their nature **not** *morally indifferent.* Man, in his unregenerated state, can choose between good and evil, that is, if by "good" we do not understand the things pertaining to salvation (spiritual righteousness). By the Fall, man has not been degraded to a mere animal being (*"blosses Naturwesen"*) so that all his actions and decisions would be determined by laws of nature (determinism, fatalism). He is a being that has self-determination. That means, he can keep what is left in him of the divine image. He can also reject it, choose again and again and sink deeper with every decision, even so low that the difference between him and the brute *seems* to have disappeared.

(1) That man's will has the power to work **civil righteousness** is also emphasized in the Apology: "It can to a certain extent render civil righteousness or the righteousness of works, it can speak of God, offer to God a certain service in outward works, obey magistrates, parents; by a choice in outward works can restrain the hands from murder, from adultery, from

theft."[419] Dr. M. Loy: "May not man in compassion on his fellow-man feed the hungry and visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction? Deeds of kindness are done all over the world every day by men who know nothing or care nothing about the grace of God in Christ Jesus. . . . Some, who do not profess to be Christians, are acknowledged to be good neighbors and estimable citizens. . . . The same fact is apparent in heathen lands. . . . History tells us of heathen philosophers who were so earnest in their pursuit of righteousness that even some Christians have been induced to believe that they were virtually Christians, and have drawn conclusions that are subversive of the Gospel revelation" (Augs. Conf. pp. 835-837). But, as Melanchthon in the Apology says, "Scripture calls the *righteousness of the flesh* which the carnal nature, i. e., reason by itself without the Holy Ghost, renders."[420] It is a "righteousness of the flesh," because the motives of the natural man in so many cases are in their last analysis selfish: he wants to have the reputation of being good. Scripture also calls it a "righteousness of the Law," because reason and observation tell him that there is misery in the way of the transgressor. "Accordingly," Dr. H. L. Baugher in his Holman Lecture on our article says, "a man may externally observe all the commandments — like that earnest young ruler in the Scriptures — and yet be outside, if not far from, the Kingdom of God, be without real goodness. Thus one may acknowledge God — for this, too, is within the sphere of reason, since it is only the fool who says there is no God — may abstain from tak-

[419] Jacobs Book of Concord, p. 230.
[420] Book of Concord, p. 230.

ing His name in vain, and from all outward profanity, may pay outward and manifest respect to God's day and house, worshipping (outwardly) reverently with his people, may with a beautiful obedience honor his parents, may curb his passions, keep himself pure, be scrupulously honest, be liberal and kind, considerate of the poor, and generous in the support of religious and charitable institutions, may, in short, be a model of an excellent citizen, and yet God, who looks upon the heart, the seat of character, and knows the secrets thereof, will say of such a man — as he virtually did of the young ruler — Thy heart is not right in the sight of God". And with these words Dr. Baugher connects a significant little story, of a man whose life was so exemplary that every one wondered why he did not become a member of the church. He seemed to be such in every thing except the profession. And when that man lay upon his dying bed and was asked by the ambassador of Christ, under whose ministrations he had so often sat, what think you of Christ? the poor man, with conscious knowledge of his own heart and with rare candor, replied: "I hate Him!"[421]

(2) As man's will has a certain freedom in the direction of the good, so also **in the direction of evil:** *in rebus malis.* In the quotation attributed to Augustine it reads: "Evil, I call such works as to have a will to worship an idol, to commit murder, etc." If there was not a certain freedom of man's will in this respect "vulgar Rationalism and horrid Sensualism would not have made such inroads on the moral life of communities". Strictly speaking, it may not be freedom to commit the acts of sin, but rather the opposite, a slavery, according

[421] *Hol. Lect.* First Series, pp. 711-712.

to Paul in Romans 7:15: "For that which I do I allow not: for that which I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that I do." Yet, man is at the same time free. After he has done the evil thing he feels the personal responsibility, he feels that he needs forgiveness. The acts are his own. And there are many degrees of evil. As Quenstedt says, he can choose between this and that spiritual evil in particular.

But here also, regarding civil righteousness and what is the opposite of it, we do not want to overlook the phrase "that man's will has *some* liberty" (*aliquam, etlichermassen*), and that the quotation attributed to Augustine speaks only of a "*certain* freedom of will", and that in the Apology it reads that the will "can *to a certain extent* render civil righteousness". As reason is given that "the power of concupiscence is such that men more frequently obey evil dispositions than sound judgment. And the devil, who is efficacious in the godless, as Paul says (Eph. 2:2), does not cease to incite this feeble nature to various offences".[422] According to the setting of words in the quotation believed to be from Augustine in the Confession this phrase "a *certain* freedom of will" must have reference also to the "evil" things. And our Lutheran dogmaticians do teach in the doctrine of providence that God does not always permit an evil intention to become a deed, especially in cases where it would thwart the plans of His government. Therefore He hinders or limits it to a certain degree. Illustrations are Abimelech (Gen. 20:6), Laban (Gen. 31:24), Baalam (Num. 22:12).

**2. What can Man NOT do before he is Regenerated?** In one respect the will of man after the fall and before regeneration is not free. Our Confession reads: "Nevertheless, it has no power, without the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God, that is, spiritual righteousness, since the natural man receiveth

[422] Apology, p. 230.

not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 2:14); but this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word." "Nature . . . cannot work the inward motions, such as the fear of God, trust in God, chastity, patience, etc." German text: *"Aber ohne Gnad, Hilfe and Wirkung des heiligen Geistes vermag der Mensch nicht Gott gefällig werden, Gott herzlich zu fürchten, oder zu gläuben, oder die angeborne boese Lust aus dem Herzen zu werfen; denn solches geschieht durch den heiligen Geist, welcher durch Gottes Wort gegeben wird. Denn Paulus spricht 1 Cor. 2:14, 'Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nichts vom Geist Gottes'."*

a. In the discussion of this statement *let us distinguish* between these two thoughts: (a) There are things which the unregenerated cannot do; (b) These things are wrought in him through the Holy Spirit.

**(1) Man cannot by his own natural powers "work the inward motions** *(interiores motus non potest efficiere)* which produce the "righteousness of God, that is, spiritual righteousness", namely (1) "fear of God" a true fear that cometh out of the heart, therefore in the German: Gott *herzlich* fürchten; Apology: "truly to fear God"; (2) "trust in God" (German: *glauben;* again in the Apology: "truly to believe God, truly to be confident and hold that God regards us, hearkens to us, forgives us, etc."); (3) the sanctification accompanying true fear and faith: to throw the innate evil lust out of the heart; (German: *"die angeborne böse Lust aus dem Herzen zu werfen"*); chastity, patience, etc

**(2) "This righteousness is wrought in the heart** *(sed haec* **fit** *in cordibus)* when the Holy Ghost is re-

ceived through the Word." German: "denn solches *geschieht* durch den heiligen Geist." According to these statements conversion is exclusively the work of the Holy Ghost who works through the Word.

But is not this contradicted by the meaning of another sentence in our article: "It (the Will) has no power *without* the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God?" Does not that mean: the Will has such power *with* the Holy Ghost? Our answer is: When the Confession teaches that the spiritual righteousness is *wrought* in the heart (Latin: "fit"; German: "geschieht") then it does, of course, not deny that it is, and must be, man's own will which is subjected to the divine influence, and that the decision in conversion is *through* this will.

Some who were opposed to the monergism of divine grace have emphasized the word "Hilfe" in the German text: "aber ohne Gnad, *Hilfe* und Wirkung des heiligen Geistes vermag der Mensch nicht, etc." English: But without grace, *help* and Wirkung of the Holy Ghost man cannot become pleasing before God. But this word "help," "Hilfe," will impress us differently when we keep in mind that the three words employed in the German text present a graduation, a climax from the general to the specific. First grace in general. Then help, assistance, which already is more specific. Finally Wirkung, which is difficult to translate into English with the full meaning of the German. The Lexicon gives operation, but it means more. Wirkung is not merely Wirken, operation, it means the result of an operation, something that has been effected (Bewirktes). So we have in those three words (grace, help, Wirkung) a gradation from something general to some-

thing very specific, and it is *the last* word that receives the stress. The fact remains that the will of the natural man is unable to effect spiritual righteousness; it is done by a decisive influence (Wirkung) of the Holy Ghost.

Dr. Richard thought that he could prove the contrary by quoting Melanchthon's Excursus to his Scholia on Colossians, published in 1527, which must be regarded as an antecedent and a preconception of our article.[423] But it cannot be done. While Melanchthon admits that it is we who "choose and act", yet he says: "He (God) imparts life and motion." That surely is not mere *assistance*, but a *creative* act, though not irresistible. And of the Holy Ghost is said that *He renews and sanctifies us (qui renovit nos et purificet)*. The fact that man's will is spoken of as choosing and acting does not prove anything against the *sola gratia*. All depends on the power which is "influencing", "imparting", "renewing", "effecting". It is the same doctrine which Luther expresses in his interpretation of the Third Article of the Apostles' Creed: I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him, but the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel, enlightened me with His gifts, sanctified and kept me in the true faith, etc."

**b. Does the the Formula of Concord go materially beyond the Augustana in the doctrine of Free-Will?** We know that the F. C. is more outspoken and that it takes pains in guarding against misinterpretations of this doctrine, which is to be explained out of

[423] Richard, "The Old Luth. Doct. of Free-Will," Luth. Quarterly, April 1905, p. 164. Melanchthon's Scholia on Colossians in Galle's *Charakteristik Melanchthons*, pp. 277-8, Schmidt, *Melanchthon*, p. 147, *et. seq.*

the experiences of Lutheranism in the synergistic controversies in the post-Reformation age, *but does the F. C. offer a new doctrine?*

(1) The F. C. teaches that there are only two efficient causes of conversion, namely the Holy Ghost and the Word, (580, 12). Man's will must not be coordinated as a third cause (569, 90), as was done by Melanchthon in his *Examen Ordinandorum*. Conversion, faith in Christ, regeneration, renewal belong alone to the Holy Ghost and the Word of God as the instrument, "not to the human powers of the natural free will, either entirely, or half, or the least or most inconsiderable part" (557, 25). This is not irreconcilable with Article XVIII of our Confession.

(2) The F. C., quoting Luther, says "that man's will is in his conversion purely passive". (499, 18; 569, 89). Even this phrase is not against the doctrine of our article. If the spiritual righteousness is "wrought in our heart", and if it is a "*Wirkung*" of the Holy Ghost, who "renews and purifies us", and if it is God who "imparts life and motion" *(Scholia on Colossians)*, then man's will is passive in the act of conversion.

(3) The F. C. approves of Luther's strong and drastic expressions that in conversion "man is like a pillar of salt, like Lot's wife, yea like a log and a stone, like a lifeless statue" (556, 20). This has often been found offensive, but there was no intention, with these expressions, to say that in conversion God does not act with man as with a personal being. The F. C. says again: "God has . . . a way of working in a man, as in a rational creature, quite different from His way of working in another creature that is irrational or is a

stone and block." (564, 62). Therefore the Holy Ghost "effects conversion, not without means, but uses for this purpose the preaching and hearing of God's Word, Rom. 1 : 16; 10 : 17" (497, 4). It is "through the heard Word" that God's Spirit "lays hold upon man's will" (500, 20). God draws man "in such a way that his understanding, in place of darkened, becomes enlightened, and his will, in place of perverse, becomes obedient" (564, 60). If man is, with the words of Luther, compared to a "pillar of salt", to "a log and a stone" then such is a description of the spiritual death in which grace finds him: "For man neither sees nor perceives the fierce and terrible wrath of God on account of his sin and death, but he continues even knowingly and willingly in his security, . . . and no prayers, no supplications, no admonitions, yea, also no threats, no reprimands are of any avail; yea all teaching and preaching are lost upon him, until he is enlightened, converted and regenerated by the Holy Ghost" (556, 21). But while man can "of himself and of his own natural powers" contribute to his own conversion or regeneration "as little as a stone or a block of clay" (556, 24), yet if it comes to God's work in man, then it is "not as a statue is cut in a stone or a seal impressed into wax, which knows nothing of it" (569, 89), but it is a "drawing of the Holy Ghost, God changes stubborn and unwilling into willing men" (569, 88). This is not against the teaching of Article XVIII in the Confession. Even the expression: "It (man's will) has no power, without the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God, etc.," (at the beginning of Article XVIII) has its parallels in the F. C., for instance, when it says, 498, 6: "For, without His grace, and if he do not grant the increase, our willing and running, our

planting and watering, all are nothing, as Christ says (John 16:5): 'Without me, ye can do nothing'."

So our conclusion is that in the F. C. (Article XXII) there is no doctrine of Free Will materially different from that in Article XVIII of the Confession. It is the original Lutheran doctrine of divine monergism fortified of course against the objections of Melanchthonian Synergism. It may be admitted that already before 1530 (after 1525, controversy of Luther with Erasmus) Melanchthon began to develop in the direction of Synergism, but specifically synergistic doctrine of the three concurring causes in conversion (Word, Holy Spirit and man's will assenting to and not resisting) was not yet put into the Invariata.

**Note 1:** Objectionable passages in the Variata of 1540 (Art. XVIII) are these: "A state of spiritual justification is effected when we are assisted (adjuvamur) by the Holy Spirit." And: "Human nature cannot produce the interior emotions, true fear, etc., unless the Holy Spirit govern and *assist* our hearts." Melanchthon labored for a certain co-ordination of the human and divine factor in conversion "which in religion is always a mistake, because the human must ever remain dependent upon God".[424]

**Note 2:** The F. C. (Art. II) offers many passages of Scripture in proof of the doctrine that it is God alone who converts man's will, and that man cannot co-operate before conversion has been effected. These many passages of Scripture must be studied in connection with the doctrinal statements in the several directions.

### 3. The Opponents to this Article.

"They condemn the Pelagians and others who teach that, without the Holy Ghost, by the power of nature alone, we are able to love God above all things; also to

[424] P. Tschackert, *Entstehung der luth. und ref. Kirchenlehre*, p. 291.

do the commandments of God as touching 'the substance of the act.'"

a. In the **system of Pelagius** we have the culmination of an heretic tendency in the Greek anthropology. What is freedom of the will? **Augustine said:** "True freedom is where it is no longer necessary to choose between good and evil, where the will moves in the direction of the good, where it does not serve vices and sins. Even when the power to the contrary, or the *possibilitas peccandi,* is given for purposes of probation, the real freedom of the will, according to Augustine, is seen in *not* using it, rather than in using it — in continuing to will the right, and refusing to will the wrong" (Shedd, *Hist. of Doctrines,* vol. 1, 3, par. 3). But **Greek anthropology objected** to this: The freedom of will consists in the *possibilitas usque partis,* in a power of alternative choice; that it can choose with equal facility either of the two contraries, holiness or sin. Freedom as the absolute capacity of choice to determine equally for good or evil, appeared to Pelagius in such a degree to be the substantial good of human nature that he even reckoned the capacity for evil as a *bonum naturae,* since we cannot choose good without in like manner being able to choose evil. (Baur). **We can readily see** that *Augustine's* conception deals with Free Will as a product of grace, while *Pelagius* defines Free Will as that what the will is by nature, and in the superficiality of his religious ideas thinks that "by the power of nature alone we are able to love God above all things; also to do the commandments of God".[425]

b. When Melanchthon says: "They condemn the Pelagians **and others",** he no doubt thought of the Semi-

[425] Comp. *Hol. Lect.* First Series, Dr. H. L. Baugher, p. 703 et. seqq.

Pelagianism of the *Roman Catholic Church,* a teaching described with these words in the Formula of Concord: "We reject also the error of the Semi-Pelagians, who teach that man, by his own powers, can make the beginning of his conversion, but without the grace of the Holy Ghost cannot complete it." (498, 10 and 567, 76).

**Note 1:** Synergism says: God makes the beginning and man responds by his own natural powers. (See F. C. 498, 11 and 567, 77).

**Note 2:** There is no sect now known under the name of Pelagians, yet Pelagianism permeates all churches that are making concessions to Socinianism, and its ideas are disseminated in the literature of our day and in the public institutions of learning. Pelagianism is in a special sense the religion of the natural man.

## ARTICLE NINETEEN.

### Of the Cause of Sin.

Of the Cause of Sin, they teach, that although God doth create and preserve nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of the wicked, that is, of the devil and ungodly men; which will, unaided of God, turns itself from God, as Christ says [John 8:44]: "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own."

De causa peccati docent, quod tametsi Deus creat et conservat naturam, tamen causa peccati est voluntas malorum, videlicet diaboli et impiorum, quae, non adiuvante Deo, avertit se a Deo, sicut Christus ait, Ioh. 8. Quum loquitur mendacium, ex se ipso loquitur.

This article also, like XVIII, is to answer a question suggested by Article II, of Original Sin:

If "all men . . . are born with" sin, *must sin, then, not be charged to the Creator and to Him who preserves sinful nature?* Furthermore, if man has no Free Will in spiritual things and is unable, out of his own

natural powers, to effect his conversion, *does not that indicate a condition for which not man, but God Himself, is responsible?* So this article naturally follows the one that dealt with the problem of Free Will.

But we can also *explain historically* why an article on the cause of sin had to go in among the doctrinal statements of the first part of the Augustana.

**1. The Historical Occasion for our Article.** We know that Melanchthon, Luther, and their friends, at first, taught **a certain determinism.**

*Melanchthon,* in the first edition of his *Loci,*[426] undertook to prove the nothingness of man's Free Will by pointing to the necessity with which everything in the life of man has to come off according to plans of the omnipotent Creator. *Luther,* in his controversy with Erasmus (1525), fought for the *sola gratia,* against the Semi-Pelagian view that man can, out of his own powers, contribute to his salvation. But among the many gems of truth expressed in his *"De servo arbitrio"* there were some predestinarian sentences indicating that in the doctrine of predestination his views had not yet reached the clarification that marked his later utterances on this subject. He failed to emphasize the universality of God's saving will and wrote as if the non-elect were by divine decree excluded from salvation. *Others of his co-laborers* had expressed like views, so Bugenhagen, Linck, Brenz. Linck wrote thus: "God has chosen to redeem some. As if I see before me nuts and pears and select from the number a few, leaving the others . . . Regarding those that have not been chosen nothing helps, even if St. Peter and all angels should preach." And such dealing with man was explained

[426] Edition of Plitt, pp. 106-145.

out of God's providence and omnipotent power. This idea especially, which was emphasized by Melanchthon in his *Loci* and in his annotations to Paul on Romans, namely that everything in man's life occurs with absolute necessity, because he is a weak creature and his acts are in all particulars determined by divine omnipotence — these thoughts suggested the conclusion that then man is not responsible for his acts and God is the cause of sin.

Our Reformers, however, had **soon found their bearing** in this problem.

They were not interested in fruitless speculations, but the question of man's salvation, justification by faith, held the central place in their system of doctrines. Here they maintained their well-known Scriptural position that *man cannot out of his own powers effect his regeneration.* This was clear from the Scriptures.

Regarding those other thoughts of man's dependence upon God they soon **began to discriminate** between man as a personal being destined to communion with God, and man as a part of the whole creation.

*Regarding man as a personal being,* they taught that God has revealed Himself in Christ Jesus as the God of salvation, hating sin, but filled with compassion for the sinner and working to save all.

But regarding *man considered from the side of nature,* as a part of the whole creation, we behold God in His omnipotent power with much mystery about His dealings with men. In Him we live, move and have our being. Even if we sin, they taught, we live and move in God. The unregenerated man who cannot do anything but sin has his strength from God. Yet this does not make Him the cause of sin. In the words of a

more modern writer: "God gives the energy for all action, but the abuse of this energy for sinful ends comes entirely from the creature."[427]

So the truth remains that God hates sin. Luther wrote (1525) to the Christians in Antwerp: "God has forbidden sin and does not will it. This has been revealed and is necessary to know. But how (in cases like Pharaoh) God can ordain (*verhaengen*) sin over a man, this we shall not know, because He has not revealed it."[428] And in another letter Luther calls God's dealing with man *"Gottes Mummerei, darunter er sich verbirgt und in der Welt so wunderlich regiert und rumort"*.[429] Brentz, in a letter of 1526, calls it *"die heimlich gottlich Cantzlei"*.[430]

With reference to expressions on this subject, and without discrimination as to how those seemingly deterministic expressions of Luther, Melanchthon and others had been qualified by subsequent writings, or even in the same writing, and without consideration of the scope of the subject under discussion (for such occasional remarks were never intended to hold a controlling place in the system of doctrines), **the Anabaptists as well as the Papists persisted in charging the Lutherans** with making God the cause of sin. So *Thomas Muenzer* wrote to Luther in 1524: "You make yourselves plainly an arch-devil by proving from Isaiah that God is the cause of sin. That's what you have succeeded in doing with your fantastic speculation following your Augustine. Certainly a blasphemous doctrine of Free-Will,

---

[427] Jacobs, *Summary of Chr. Faith*, p. 73.
[428] Koestlin, Theology of Luther II, pp. 277, 280, 292 sq., 301 sq.
[429] De Wette, *Briefe* II, 606.
[430] Pressel, *Anecdota Brentiana*, p. 26.

treating man with contempt."[431] And although this charge has repeatedly been refuted it was raised again by *Dr. Eck* in his pamphlet pointing especially to sentences of Melanchthon in his annotations to the Epistle to the Romans.[432] This **was historically the cause** for inserting this article and for giving it the place it occupies, following Article XVIII, of Free Will.

**2. The Doctrinal Statement** shows the natural division of a negative and a positive part.

**a. Negative:** "Although God doth create and preserve nature, yet" He is not the cause of sin. The aim here is not to make a confessional statement on the doctrine of creation and preservation — note the two words "although" and "yet" — but simply to profess that God is not the cause of sin. This error is frequently based on *a wrong conception of what God's creation and preservation of nature includes.*

**(1) In what sense is "nature" here to be taken?** In the Latin text we read, *"natura";* in the German, *"die ganze Natur".* God has created and preserved "the whole universal nature". There is no difference of thought between the two texts. The German is more comprehensive and we may interpret it even to "exclude as the cause of sin, not only God Himself, but all that He has created, nature in its universal extent, referring sin's origin solely and entirely to the will of the rational creature".[433] God is not even indirectly the cause of sin. But this word "nature" specifically includes *human nature.* In creating man as he is, God has not laid Himself open to the charge of thereby being the cause of sin.

---

[431] De Wette III, 68.
[432] Plitt II, p. 8, note 2.
[433] Dr. Repass in *Holm. Lect.* First Series, p. 727.

**(2) A necessary distinction** is to be made, namely between human nature as such, and sin. Here was the *mistake of Flacius,* who identified nature and sin too much. On this subject the *Formula of Concord* says (Art. II, p. 545): "Although original sin, like a spiritual poison . . . has corrupted all human nature, so that we cannot clearly show and point out the nature apart by itself, and original sin apart by itself; nevertheless, the . . . essence of the corrupt man . . . or the man himself whom God has created and original sin which dwells in man's nature . . . are not one thing; as . . . the body which is leprous and leprosy . . . are not one thing." *Dr. Jacobs:* "Man's nature is not sin, but sinful. Much as one may suffer from diphtheria or typhoid fever, no one can be said to be either of these diseases." We should not identify with human nature the vicious quality of sin. Sin is like the mildew on the bread.

**(3) How can God preserve what is evil?** Does not that show that He wills the existence of sin? It is *not sin* that God preserves or intends to preserve, *but the human nature,* the person. It is yet possible that the sinner can be cleansed from his sin. Regarding *man's creation* there was the possibility of his fall. But that did not keep God from creating man. The possibility of falling into sin was included in God's plan of redemption. This explains also His preservation of sinful humanity. If the sinner is the object of God's preservation and if, according to our old Dogmaticians, we can speak of a *certain concurrence* of God regarding the sinful acts of men, even this does not make God the cause of sin. "If the murderer raises his hand, then the strength is from God, but in the sin itself God

has no part." Compare here what our Dogmaticians taught concerning "Permission", "Hindrance", "Direction", "Determination". See under Art. XVIII, p. 268.

**b. Positive statement:** Although God is the Creator and Preserver of the whole nature and of human nature in particular, "yet the cause of sin is the will of the wicked, that is the devil and ungodly men". The *possibility of sinning was in the nature of the will.*[434]

If God had created animals, plants or minerals instead of man there would have been no possibility of a fall. But He created angels and man, who could use their will in choosing the wrong.

**(1) How does the choice of sin take place?** "Which will, unaided of God, turn itself from God, as Christ says (John 8:44): 'When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own.'" The responsibility for the fall and for every sin after the fall is altogether on the part of creature: the devil and the wicked, who turn away from God.

*"Non adjuvante Deo,"* unaided of God — this remarkable and much discussed phrase means that God did not put anything into the will that in the moments of temptation decision must fall in the fatal direction. But neither does God decide for man in the sense that He relieves him of the struggle in the hour of temptation.

This seems to be the meaning of the German text, corresponding to this phrase, which reads: *"so Gott die Hand abgetan"* (English, when God withdrew His hand, or, "which, as soon as divine aid is withdrawn, turneth from God unto evil"). The German ap-

[434] Comp. our interpretation of Article XVIII.

pears to view sin as consequent upon the momentary withdrawal of the divine gracious power. In the first stages of man's temptation there are moments "when God withdraws His hand", as Scripture says of Hezekiah (2 Chron. 32:31): "God left him to try him, that He might know all that was in his heart." God does not manifest His presence, man is in danger of losing His Word, and the tempter has great power. An illustration is the Son of God Himself in His cry on the cross: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me." So there were moments when He was alone in Gethsemane and in the wilderness. It is this which the Psalmist has in mind when he prays: "Hide not Thy face far from me . . . leave me not, neither forsake me, O God of my salvation" (Ps. 27:9). God does not annihilate the tempter before he approaches. So the German text supplements the Latin in a very suggestive manner.

The Latin of which our English text is a translation makes the negative statement that God in no wise aids in the commission of sin, the German adds the thought that this should not be interpreted as God exempting man from the test in the smelting-furnace of temptation.[435]

**(2) How did it come about that our first parents**

---

[435] Compare the discussions on this subject in Vilmar, *Theologische Moral* I, p. 121, especially pp. 163-166. Plitt II, 429. Loy, p. 855. *Holm. Lect.* 1st Series, p. 728. The obvious meaning of the German text cannot be evaded by saying that the German copy as belonging to a time when the Confession was not yet finished (comp. Historical Part) may have differed in this phrase with the copy that was read at the Diet. According to Tschackert's exhibition of the critical text this phrase *"so Gott die Hand abgetan"* was in the original. It may be mentioned that in the Variata Melanchthon substituted the words *"contra mandata Dei"* for *"non adjuvante Deo"*.

**fell into sin,** so that from now on the will of men can be called the cause of sin (i. e., of the actual sin)?

To be noted is that the will of **the devil is mentioned first.** This is the *first* cause of sin. The temptation from the devil accounts for the fall of man and for the condition of his will which now again becomes in a secondary way a cause of actual sins.

But this does not answer *all* of the question. We can understand that after once the fall had taken place and there were sinning men with sinning wills in the world that sin would perpetuate itself; but *how was it possible that in Adam and Eve, through the temptation of the devil, the first evil desire could be begotten, considering the state of absolute purity from sin in which they had been created?* When Eve was looking with desire at the forbidden tree (the teachers of the Medieval Age called it *delectatio morosa*)[436] and the representations of the serpent began to take hold of her, **was there not already in Eve something sinful,** an ἐπιθυμία by which she was meeting the tempter half way? And would we not have to attribute such lust, or let us call it receptivity for temptation, to the Creator and so after all have God as a cause of sin?

Here we must remember what the "Original Righteousness", or holiness meant, in which the first man was created. **We must not make the first man a divine being.** Luthardt says: "Our old teachers perhaps overdid it in attributing perfection to the original state of man. For by putting too much into man's original state they made a real progress impossible."[437] They

[436] Cf. Martensen, Ethics, on this term.

[437] Luthardt, *Glaubenslehre*, p. 97. As illustrations compare Schmidt, § 24, notes 8, 10-11.

(especially Baier, Calovius, Hollaz) clearly went beyond Luther and the Confessions. The Apology says in a famous passage: "Original Righteousness implies not only an equable temperament of the bodily qualities, but also these gifts, viz., a more certain knowledge of God, fear of God, confidence in God, or a certain rectitude *and power of attaining them.*" Luther called this condition of the first man an *"innocentia puerilis"* that was to grow into the *"innocentia virilis"*.[438] True, we must **not go too far in this direction and make the original man a moral neuter** (*"ein sittliches Neutrum"*, Luthardt). With a purity from sin he was started in the direction of God, with an active conscience, striving after truth and real freedom. But he was *a sensual nature* (*"sensu medio"*), with the faculty of imagination, capable of receiving impressions of the good as well as the evil. This was *in itself something indifferent and it only became sinful* when the tempter succeeded in turning the will in the direction of the evil.

**(3) How could there be a fall into sin among the angels?** How could the devil beget sin within himself with no temptation from an outside power? He must have been a good creature of God, as Scripture excludes any kind of dualism. This *old speculative question* of the πόθεν τὸ κακόν (whence cometh the evil?) is not answered in this article. Our Confession confines itself to practical purposes and at the close of the article only quotes the statement from John 8:44, "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own". This is to guard against the supposition that God should in any way be the cause of sin in the devil.

[438] Comp. A. v. Oettingen, *Dogmatik* II, 391.

**Note: No errorists** are mentioned in connection with this article. The *Roman Catholic Church* might have been mentioned with its view that sensuality is the essence of sin. The flesh in itself was considered evil and had to be mortified by monastic efforts. Since God is the Creator of human nature (including man's body, his flesh) such a view would make Him the cause of sin. Yet no mention of this Gnostic-Manichean error, of which even Augustine could not rid himself, was made at this place, because Rome had intention of teaching this error. *Clearer cases* of making God the cause of sin we have later in the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination in its supralapsarian form, and later yet in the religious views of men like Schiller, Hegel and others (*Protestantenverein*), who held that the evil in the first man was a necessary part of his being without which a motion, a history, a development in the desired direction would have been impossible.

## ARTICLE TWENTY.

### Of Good Works.

We do not print the text of this article because of its length. In the nature of its discussion, i. e. with reference to form (not with reference to its contents) it belongs into one class with the articles of the second part of the Confession (XXII to XXVIII), which are all treated in a lengthy discussion. For the text, we must, therefore, refer to the Book of Concord (People's Edition) by Dr. Jacobs.

This article also, like XVIII and XIX, was written for supplementary purposes. It is a further exposition of Article IV of Justification, and VI on the New Obedience. The draft of May 31st did not yet contain this article (cf. p. 82), but in the counsel of our Confessors it was decided that it should be added for the purpose of meeting the persistent objection of the Romanists, that the doctrine of Justification quenches the striving after righteousness of life. It is the longest article of the first part of the Confession. There is no aim at the brevity that is characteristic of all articles of the doctrinal part, but Melanchthon has employed the

form of discussion as we find it in the second part of the Confession and in the Apology. We shall here content ourselves with a mere outline, because all is self-explanatory and itself an exposition of the central thought of the Confession.[439]

**I. The Accusation that the doctrine of Justification by Faith kills the striving after Righteousness of Life is false,** because it is manifest that the writings of Luther and his brethren have given a new impulse even to the preaching of the opponents who now lay more emphasis upon the things which the Word of God demands concerning the daily life of the Christian, in place of the unnecessary things that were preached before (on holy days, fasts, pilgrimages, the use of rosaries, etc.).

**II. The Roman Doctrine concerning Works is false and harmful** *for the following four reasons:*

1. *It casts contempt upon Christ,* and man invents a way of his own for salvation, notwithstanding Christ has said: I am the way (John 14:6).

2. *It leaves the troubled conscience without comfort and peace* ("Heretofore consciences were plagued with the doctrine of works," etc.).

3. *It leaves out of consideration that without faith and outside of Christ and without the Holy Ghost, we are too weak to do works pleasing to God:* "Without me ye can do nothing" (John 15:5).

---

[439] The outline which we offer is the same as contained in the book which we wrote for laymen "The Augsburg Confession," p. 139 f. and was there taken over from a book published in Heidelberg (Germany) by Carl Winter's Universitaetsbuchhandlung for a layman who was too modest to give his name. It is the book which Dr. J. E. Whitteker has made the basis for his excellent little work on the Augsburg Confession.

4. *In connection with it is held that faith signifies "merely the knowledge of the history, such as it is in the ungodly and the devil".*

**III. Over against these Negative Statements our article asserts** in a more positive way the *following three things:*

1. This doctrine is *divinely true,* because

(a) It is taught in the Gospel, especially by Paul. (Eph. 2:8).

(b) It is the old doctrine "supported by the testimonials of the fathers". Augustine and Ambrose are quoted.

2. This doctrine is *necessary,* because

(a) It represents the most fundamental things in Christianity;

(b) It gives peace to the timid and terrified consciences ("but because this doctrine is despised by the inexperienced, nevertheless," etc.);

(c) It does not lose sight of the essence of faith, which is confidence in God, and the trust that in Christ we have the forgiveness of sins.

3. This is a *safe doctrine,*

(a) Because on the one hand it teaches us about real good works, *not* that we should put our trust in them and try to merit grace, *but* that by doing them we should honor and glorify God;

(b) Because, on the other hand, we are taught that God *not only* wants such works, *but also* that through faith He gives us the Holy Ghost who endows us with strength to lead a holy life.

**Conclusion:** For all these reasons the opponents ought to praise this doctrine of faith and should not undertake to persecute those who have accepted it.

## ARTICLE TWENTY-ONE.

### Of the Worship of Saints.

Of the Worship of Saints, they teach, that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works, according to our calling, as the Emperor may follow the example of David in making war to drive away the Turk from his country. For both are kings. But the Scripture teaches not the invocation of saints, or to ask help of saints, since it sets before us Christ, as the only Mediator, Propitiation, High-Priest and Intercessor. He is to be prayed to, and hath promised that He will hear our prayer; and this worship He approves above all, to wit, that in all afflictions He be called upon [1 John 2:1]: "If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father," etc.

De cultu sanctorum docent, quod memoria sanctorum proponi potest, ut imitemur fidem eorum et bona opera iuxta vocationem, ut Caesar imitari potest exemplum Davidis in bello ad depellendos Turcas a patria. Nam uterque rex est. Sed scriptura non docet invocare sanctos, seu petere auxilium a sanctis, quia unum Christum nobis proponit mediatorem, propitiatorium, pontificem, intercessorem. Hic invocandus est, et promisit se exauditurum esse preces nostras, et hunc cultum maxime probat, videlicet ut invocetur in omnibus afflictionibus. 1. Ioh. 2, 1. Si quis peccat, habemus advocatum apud Deum cet.

The question has been asked, **why this article was not placed in the second part** of the Confession, which deals with the abuses of the Roman Church. But Melanchthon meant this to be a *doctrinal* article. Dr. M. Loy says: "As in the twentieth article the meritorious character of our works is denied, so here the Scriptural ground for human mediators and intercessors."[440] **The lesson** is: *Jesus Christ is the only Mediator.* This leads

[440] *Augsb. Conf.*, p. 898.

us to classify this article with Article III on the Son of God.

It is of interest to know that **Luther at Coburg was very much concerned** about having an article on the invocation of saints among the confessional statements of the purified Church. Not only do we find an article on that subject in the so-called Torgau Articles in the conception of which Luther must have participated (cf. page 77), but we know it also from a letter which he wrote at Coburg to Dr. Jonas, during the Augsburg diet. He had been informed that after the Confession had been delivered the emperor with the Roman Catholic princes and divines had asked the Protestants whether the articles comprised all the differences from the traditional Church, or whether there were more. To this Luther replied in his forceful manner: "I see what this means. The devil is yet alive, and it has not escaped him that your Apology — so the Augsb. Conf. was at first called — steps softly *(leise tritt)* and that the articles concerning purgatory, *invocation of saints,* and the Pope as Antichrist has been passed over in silence."[441] But our article on saint worship *was* in the Confession.[442] Endeavoring to explain Luther's remark, Kolde thinks that Luther must have overlooked this brief article in its position between the two long Articles XX and XXII. Be that as it may, to us it is of interest that *Luther wanted this article.* It was an important one at that time. And even to-day we could not do without it in our Confession. For on this subject Roman Catholicism has hardened its heart against the truly evangelical tes-

[441] De Wette, *Luthers Briefe* IV, 110; Enders, *Briefwechsel* VIII, 133.

[442] It was not yet written when Luther received the "first draft", of May 11th; but it was in the copy which Luther received immediately after the public delivery on June 25th.

timony of our fathers. Therefore, this testimony of our article must continue as long as such gross error is maintained and saints are substituted for Christ as mediators between God and man.

This article discriminates between **a true and a false veneration of the saints.** The first is *commanded,* the second is *rejected.*

**1. The True Veneration of Saints** consists in this that we shall

(a) Remember them for *strengthening of our faith.* When we see how God has helped the sainted men and women of the Bible it shall inspire us with confidence that He will not forsake us.

(b) Their good works shall be *an example* to us for imitation. And each one in his own calling may here choose a special saint for imitation, as for instance "the Emperor may follow the example of David in making war in driving the Turk from his country"; or a teacher of the divine Word may choose Paul, or a student Timothy, etc. (Apology).

2. But the **false Veneration of Saints** is rejected, which consists in this that we call on them in prayer and make them mediators before God. This is an abuse which, as Melanchthon says in his Apology, is heathen in character.[443]

a) Such prayer is *not commanded in Scripture,* nor can it be substantiated by Scripture, because there we are led to Christ.

---

[443] Comp. K. A. v. Hase, *Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik,* p. 307: "Inside of a monotheistic religion the worship of saints has satisfied a polytheistic need by bridging over the immense distance between man and God." See also Bonwetch, in Hauck's *R. E.* VII, 555; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* II, 448; Schultz, *Geschichte des griechisch-roemischen Heidentums* II, 351.

b) There is no *divine promise* that such prayer shall be heard.

**Note 1:** The Apology goes more into details on this article. There also **Mary** is mentioned, which was wisely omitted in the Confession. The veneration for the "Mother of God" was so great with the Romanists that any mention of her in connection with the rejection of saint worship would have met with special indignation. But at the time of the writing of the Apology the conciliatory policy with respect to Rome was abandoned even by Melanchthon.

**Note 2:** In my "Holman Lecture", which I had the honor to deliver at the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg and which was published in the Lutheran Quarterly of July, 1909, I have treated this article at length as follows: 1) The gradual growth of saint worship and the form of this error at the eve of the Reformation; 2) Luther's development regarding the invocation of saints, and how Melanchthon framed the result of it in our article;[444] 3) Our article in the fire of Roman criticism, and how it was defended (namely by Melanchthon during the discussions that followed the reading of the Confutation in the committee appointed by the emperor for purposes of conciliation[445] in the Apology , in the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanae,* and by Martin Chemnitz in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*).[446]

## V. Melanchthon's Apology.

### A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

**Literature:** Much of the literature mentioned under the Augsburg Confession has a bearing on the Apology also. As special works we mention **G. Plitt,** *Die Apologie der Augustana, geschichtlich erklaert.* Erlangen, 1873. **J. Ficker,** Die *Konfutation des Augsburgischen Bekenntnisses. Ihre Gestalt und ihre Geschichte.* Leipzig, 1891.

---

[444] Koestlin, *Theology of Luther* I, 466; 468.

[445] See introduction to Apology, p. 295; also Dr. J. W. Richard in *Luth. Quarterly* of Oct., 1900.

[446] See the Lecture, published in *Lutheran Quarterly*, July 1909, pp. 324-329.

### 1. The Confession in Need of Defence.

#### a. A Confession of the Romanists.

(1) The answer of the Romanists to the Augsburg Confession was called the **Confutation.** The emperor had ordered twenty Roman Catholic theologians to prepare a refutation of the Lutheran Confession and to submit it to the diet. Their first endeavor was no success. The document which they presented was too polemical and was therefore rejected. The emperor insisted upon a form that should be winning rather than insulting, and it should be brief and to the point. After they had tried it several times, and with the aid of the emperor's secretaries, they finally succeeded in formulating a reply to the Confession, which was accepted.[447]

(2) It was **read publicly** before the members of the diet, on the third of August, 1530, that is, thirty-eight days after the reading of the Confession took place, in the same room (bishop's palace).

(3) The original name of the document was Responsio Augustanae Confessionis. But in history it goes under the name Confutatio Pontifica. It was written in the name of the emperor.

(4) Not before 1573 was the Latin text **published.**[448] The German text, a translation by the Bavarian chancellor Leonhard von Eck, was published for the first time in 1808.[449] The chief reason for not printing the Confutation during the days of the Augsburg

---

[447] On the history of the composition see J. Ficker *Die Konfutation des Augsburger Bekenntnisses. Ihre erste Gestalt und ihre Geschichte.* Leipzig, 1891. Also Th. Brieger in Beitraege zur Geschichte des Augsburger Reichstages, and in Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte, vol. XII, 1891, p. 123 ff. Cf. also J. L. Neve, *The Augsb. Conf.,* Philadelphia, 1914, p. 48-50.

[448] *Corp. Ref.* XXVII, 82-183.

[449] *Corp. Ref.* C. R. XXVII, 190-243.

diet and soon after was the same that caused the emperor to forbid the publication of the Confession: he wanted to see all agitation of the confessional matter stopped. But that even after the open break with the Lutherans it should take so long before the Romanists would publish their Confutation seems to be clear evidence of what has been often said in the circles of Lutherans, namely, that the Romanists were ashamed of the document.

(5) The **character of the Confutation:** Melanchthon called it childish and foolish ("so gar kindisch und laeppisch.")[450] The Romanists complained that the Lutherans had laughed aloud during its reading. This is no wonder when the following is reported: To prove that the laymen are entitled to bread only in the Communion and should want no wine, 1 Sam. 2:36 was quoted: "And it shall come to pass that every one that is left in thine house shall come and crouch to him for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread and shall say: Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priest's offices, that I may eat a piece of bread."[451] And yet there were many passages in the Confutation, especially with reference to the doctrines of justification and good works, in which a strong appearance of having successfully refuted the Confession had been created.[452] The Lutherans felt that they had to answer. But —

**b. A copy was denied the Lutherans.** They were told that their Confession had been refuted, and that no further controversy was desired. A renewed petition for a copy of the Confutation received the answer that

[450] *Corp. Ref.* II, 253.
[451] See the text of the Apology, p. 245.
[452] See the observations in Planck, vol. III, Book 7, p. 85 f.

they should have one if they would promise not to reply. This they could not promise, and so they waived their claim.[453]

**2. The First Draft of the Apology.**

a. On the 20th of September **Melanchthon began to write** his Apology without a text of the Confutation in hand. Joachim Camerarius had made notes, and others had done the same. Such material was put at the disposal of Melanchthon at the wish of the Elector. And now he, assisted by other theologians, finished his first draft of the Apology in great haste.[454]

b. The question will be asked: **Why did Melanchthon wait until Sept. 20th?** The Confutation was read on August 3d. Yes, but the time between these two dates was filled with intense work for Melanchthon. The emperor had appointed him as the chief member of a committee, on the side of the Lutherans, to negotiate with a like committee of the Romanists for the purpose of bringing about an agreement in matters of faith. These endeavors, on which the emperor had put so much hope, failed. But the discussions of these weeks, which covered every article of the Confession and the Confutation, provided Melanchthon with so much knowledge of the contents of the Confutation that, with the additional aid of those notes, he was well prepared to write the Apology.

c. This *prima delineatio apologiae* **was handed to the emperor** in German and Latin, when, about the close of the diet, it was announced that the Confession

---

[453] Kolde, *Historische Einleitung*, p. 34; *Corp. Ref.* II, 72; Foerstemann, *Urkundenbuch* I, 179, 189 ff.

[454] *Corp. Ref.* II, 383.

of the Lutherans had been definitely refuted; but it was not accepted.[455]

**3. The Apology Re-written.**

a. Not in the form of that *prima delineatio* did the Apology become the authorized interpretation of the Augsburg Confession, in which it is valued as a confessional writing of the Lutheran Church to-day; but **the text as we have it in the Book of Concord** was thoroughly re-written by Melanchthon after he had left Augsburg. A copy of the Confutation had come into his hands, which he could now use.[456]

b. The new work **was published** at the end of April or the beginning of May, together with the *Editio Princeps* of the Augsburg Confession. Melanchthon wrote in Latin. The German text is a free translation prepared by Justus Jonas, and revised by Melanchthon, and contains surprising deviations from the Latin text.[457] A part of these deviations is explained by the fact that the German translation was made from the text of the second revised edition which was already put into type.

**4. The Character of the Apology.**

a. **The aim** of the Apology was, (1) to *reject* the claim of the Romanists that through the Confutation the Augsburg Confession has been refuted; to *characterize* the fundamental difference between the Lutherans and the Romanists by tracing them back to the difference on such questions as law and grace, sin and justifica-

---

[455] It was first published in Latin by Chytraeus in his *Historia*, p. 328; later in a somewhat better text in the *Corp. Ref.* XXVII, 275 ff.

[456] See Kolde, p. 37, note 2.

[457] Compare on this whole new edition Kolde in his *Einleitung* pp. 37-39. The text of this first publication is found in the *Corp. Ref.* XXVII, pp. 391 ff.

tion. The doctrine of justification by grace through faith is the pivot of Melanchthon's discussions. (3) Neither does he overlook *some other points* that needed further elucidation: the doctrine of the Church, the number of the Sacraments, the mass, the invocation of saints, celibacy, etc.

b. **The form,** therefore, of the Apology is different from that of the Confession. Written after it had become evident that a reconciliation with Rome was impossible, it is *strongly polemical.* It refutes the positions of Roman scholasticism, and exposes the unscripturalness of the peculiar Romanistic theology by tracing it to its last hiding places. So the Apology has become a kind of a side-piece to Melanchthon's *Loci.*[458]

c. **Dr. Schaff on the Apology:** "The Apology is a triumphant vindication of the Confession. It far excels the Confutation both in theological and literary merit, and in Christian tone and spirit. It is written with solid learning, clearness, and moderation, though not without errors in exegesis and patristic quotations. It is seven times as large as the Confession itself. It is the most learned of the Lutheran symbols. It greatly strengthened the confidence of scholars in the cause of Protestantism. Its chief and permanent value consists in its being the oldest and most authentic interpretation of the Augsburg Confession by the author himself."[459]

### 5. The Recognition of the Apology as a Confessional Writing.

a. The **impressions at its first appearance.** *Lazarus Spengler* wrote to Veit Dietrich: "We have received the Apology with great joy, and are full of hope that

[458] Comp. Kolde, *Einleitung,* p. 38. Meusel's *Handlexikon* I, 176.
[459] Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom,* I, 241.

it will be of much use and benefit even to coming generations."[460] *Brenz* wrote: "The Confession carries the Apology with it as on horseback."[461] *Albrecht of Mayence,* on 19th of November, sent the Apology to the Emperor to show him how the Christian religion was torn to pieces and how necessary was the publication of the Confutation.[462].

b. The Apology was not signed by the Lutheran princes, like the Confession, and it therefore appeared under Melanchthon's own name. Yet already in 1532, at the convent in Schweinfurt, which was held preparatory to the Augsburg Religious Peace Treaty (1555), it was **recognized as a public confession.**[463] But especially the fact that the Lutheran divines signed the Apology at the convent of Smalcald, 1537, that it was used at the religious conference at Worms (1540) and above all the fact that it had been named as a symbolical book in the Kirchenordnungen of most countries[464] and was finally incorporated into the Book of Concord (1580), has given it the character of a confessional writing in the Lutheran Church.

### 6. Alterations of the Text.

Already in the fall of 1531, after the first edition had appeared in the previous spring, Melanchthon published an improved edition. It contains partly real improvements, partly more extensive discussions. And only at one place is there a change of doctrinal signifi-

---

[460] M. M. Mayer, *Spengleriana,* p. 86. (Nuremburg 1830.)
[461] *Corp. Ref.* II, 510.
[462] Lanz, *Korrespondenz des Kaisers Karl V.,* I, p. 602. (Leipzig 1844).
[463] Kolde, *Einl.* 40.
[464] Hannover, 1536, Schwabisch Hall 1543, Waldeck 1556, Pomerania 1563, Prussia 1567, Brunswick-Wolfenbuettel 1569, Lippe 1571, Hessia 1574, Lueneburg 1575, Hohenlohe 1578 and in all *Corpora Doctrinae,* cf. Tschackert, p. 578 ff.

cance. In his first edition he had quoted, in the chapter on the Lord's Supper, something from Theophylact which sounded like favoring transubstantiation (mutare panem). This he eradicated in the second edition.[465] Later editions also show some changes, but none that touches the substance of doctrine. The German text was also changed, especially in the edition of 1533. Further changes were made in the edition of 1540. But they do not affect any of the doctrinal conceptions. The Book of Concord took both texts from the *first* edition.

### B. CONTENTS OF THE APOLOGY.

By Geo. J. Fritschel.

## Introduction by Melanchthon.

The **Roman side** presented a "Confutation" of our Confession, but refused to furnish us a copy, unless we should promise beforehand that we would submit. We could not do so, and the succeeding negotiations were in vain. 1-4.

The **Apology** presented by us was not accepted; but in the Edict the assertion was made that our doctrine had been refuted. 5-8. In this Apology we present what the opponents said and the proof of our doctrines. 9. It is issued under the author's name, because he enlarged the short form which had been approved by others. He has written as mildly as he could against such insidious tactics, as were used by the opponents. 10-14.

Not all, but only the most important arguments are discussed. We must retain our doctrine, since it is correct, and according to the Scriptures. 15-16. No one can deny that we have brought to light many parts of the Christian doctrine, and many excellent men have gratefully acknowledged the benefits derived therefrom. 17-18.

We appeal to Christ, the Supreme Judge, and pray that He would give peace to His Church. 19.

---

[465] Comp. Kolde, *Einleitung*, p. 39, 51.

# The First Part (Article I-XXI.)

## Article I. Of God.

The Romanists approve our first article. We have always taught so, *since it is the doctrine of the Bible.*

## Article II. Of Original Sin.

The Roman Confutation says: (1) that the condition and acts were confounded in the Augsburg Confession; (2) that Luther's doctrine of sin remaining after Baptism is wrong.

### I. The Definition of the Augsburg Confession.

1. Why we use it?
   a. This form of the definition of original sin was used **to reject** the views of those who consider it only a misfortune or burden, or as mortality (hence the phrase already used by the Scholastics). 4-8.
   b. The **"without faith",** etc., is opposed to the superficial description of the Scholastics. 7-14.
2. Why do we retain it?
   a. The "without" is **nothing new.** The traditional definition is: "It is the absence of original righteousness." 15. Let us analyze this: (a) **Original righteousness** is the fear and knowledge of God. 16-22. (b) **Absence** denies that man has it. 23.
   b. "With concupiscence" is Augustine's favorite definition. 24-25.
   c. We **combine the two;** even this combination is not new, but is used by old and new teachers (Thomas, Bonaventura, Hugo), 27-30, and the Bible. 31.
3. What we do.
   We merely bring to light and apply this most necessary old doctrine. 32-34.

### II. The Phrase: "It remains after Baptism".

1. What did Luther really say?
   Luther's statement was: Baptism removes the guilt, but not the *materiale,* that is, the evil inclination itself, but gives new light and the Holy Spirit. 35-37.

2. What did Luther mean?
   a. Luther maintains: "It **is sin;**" the Romanists say: "It is **not** sin, but a burden." 38.
   b. The Romanists teach that the *fomes* (susceptibility) is an indifferent thing. 42. The Scriptures, teachers, and experience prove the opposite. 43 And Luther opposed the philosophical preaching asserting that original sin after baptism is not an adiaphoron, but sinful in itself. 44-45.
3. What is the practical inference?
   The **Romanists** *belittle* original sin, and teach that man by *his own* strength can fulfil the commandments. 46a.
   The **Scriptures** teach the very opposite, and describe it as **sin** and punishment. 46b-47.
   Only by recognizing the greatness of the evil can Christ's benefits be truly understood. 48-50.
4. What is the result of this proof?
   **Our teachers advocate nothing new.** 50-51.

### Article III. Of the Son of God.

This article is fully approved by the opponents.

### Articles IV, VI, XX. Of "Justification".

**Remark:** In these articles the Apology furnishes a detailed monograph on the Lutheran conception of the way of salvation. It comprises in Jacobs, pp. 84-280. The division is stated in p. 84, §4.

#### Introduction.

This is the **chief article** of the Christian faith: Do we obtain remission of sins through **faith** in Christ, or through human **works** and merits? We propose to deal with the topic as follows:

1. To **state** the fundamental **difference** between the two views. (5-48);
2. To **explain** the statement of our Confession. (48-121 and 1-61);
3. To **refute** the arguments of the Romanists. (62-268).

## A. The Fundamental Differences.

### I. The Law.

#### 1. The Roman Doctrine Concerning the Law.

1. They **select** the Law, and even then take it in so far as it refers to **outward** things, and **seek remission** by obeying the outward law. 7. But the Decalogue demands more, viz., **true** obedience, love, etc. 8.
2. The scholastics (as pupils of the philosophers) taught a **purely philosophical righteousness** consisting in outward obedience, and taught that God rewards it by bestowing grace. 9-11. But in that case there would be no difference between natural and Christian righteousness. (In sermons they actually made none). 12-16.
3. Concerning Christ they taught: He deserved for us the "first grace", that is, He **made it possible** that God can do this. But first comes the *meritum congrui* (acting praiseworthily), which is then rewarded by "grace" (the power to do good). Utilizing this given power, man obtains the *meritum condigni* (real merit). But in this way Christ is buried, and confidence is placed in oneself. Thus only outward righteousness is attained, but neither love nor experiencing love. 18.
4. The distinction between *meritum congrui* and *meritum condigni* merely **conceals their Pelagianism.** 19-20. This whole doctrine shows utter lack of spiritual experience; it satisfies carnally secure hypocrites, but not the timid conscience of those near to despair. 21.

#### 2. The Lutheran Doctrine Concerning the Law.

1. We teach also that God **demands** the outward righteousness *for civil and social purposes,* and that man can render it to some extent. 22-24.
2. But we **deny** that forgiveness of sins, faith, grace and salvation are received in **this way.** 25-28.
3. We **prove** this from the Fathers (29), and especially from the Bible. 30-33.
4. The Romanists err in *merely* considering the second table of the Ten Commandments; but true love, grace and obedi-

ence is impossible before faith. Only those lacking all Christian experience can teach as the Romanists do. 34-39.

#### II. The Promises (or Gospel).

##### 1. The Lutheran Doctrine.

1. The promise is **unconditional** and offers remission and justification **gratis.** If there were a condition, the promise would belong to the Law; and thus we could never attain remission, as our obedience is ever imperfect. 40-42.
2. The gratuitous promise is **accepted by faith** alone. 43-44.
3. This special faith, then, accepts the free grace of God, and places Christ between self and God's wrath, and **regenerates** the heart and produces good works. 45-46.

##### 2. The Roman Doctrine of Faith.

All Roman literature contains **not a syllable** about faith. Hence we brand Romanists as teachers of the Law and not of the Gospel. 47.

## B. A More Detailed Statement of the Lutheran Doctrine.

#### 1. We are justified by faith.

1. What both parties teach of faith:
   The **Romanists:** Faith is the knowledge of history, and may exist even with mortal sins. 48a.
   The **Lutherans:** Faith is the hearty assent to the promise, is purely of free grace; it means to desire earnestly and receive the offered promise. 48b.
2. The **difference** between faith and works: Faith is that form of worship, where one **receives** the benefits offered by God. Works are that form of worship, where one **offers** his works to God. 49.
3. The **Scriptures** prove the Lutheran doctrine, as does also the **Creed.** 50-52.
4. The three **objects of faith** are: the promise, gratuity, Christ's merits. 53-56.

5. The testimony of **history:** In this way the Old Testament saints were justified. 57-59. In this way God wishes to be worshipped, viz., he gives, we receive. 60.

### 2. Faith alone justifies.

1. How this faith is obtained. (This is the explanation of Article V).
   a. The Word **terrifies** through the **Law** and **consoles** through the **promise.** In this way the Holy Spirit gives new life. 61-62.
   b. This doctrine is plain and clear, and shows how **conversion** takes place; the Romanists cannot explain it, and so are confused. 63-65.
   c. Hence faith and justification come through the Word. 66-68.
2. Faith **alone** justifies.
   a. If Christ is the only Mediator, as the Scriptures teach, then we are justified through faith alone; He can be **received only by faith.** 69-70. This does not mean, since "beginning is half done", Christ begins and our works continue the work; but **Christ alone** and completely justifies. 71.
   b. The word **"justify"** has a **double meaning,** viz., (1) To bestow forgiveness; (2) To declare just. In **both** meanings it is true we are justified by faith alone, for St. Paul says so distinctly. 72-79.
   c. Faith alone can **bring remission.** Proof by syllogism: Justification is remission of sins (this is conceded by both parties); we receive remission of sins by faith (four proofs are given); hence, etc. 80-85.
   d. By faith alone we are **accounted as God's children.** This is taught in detail by Paul in Rom. 3 and 4 (87-93), by John (94-96), by Acts (97-99), by the Prophets (100-102), and by the Fathers (193-196).
3. Justifying faith is not *fides formata* (faith insofar as it has works).
   a. Some Romanists now admit that we are justified by faith, but claim that this is faith insofar as it has love.

Thus they still abolish the gospel, and make it a matter of law. 107.

b. We also emphasize love; but it is faith which reconciles us, because it **receives** remission of sins and brings the Holy Spirit, whilst love is an effect which follows. 111-116.

**Conclusion.** This doctrine is important, for only by it is the office of Christ truly recognized, the benefits of Christ truly received, and the pious minds founded in a sure hope of salvation. 117-121.

#### 3. Of Love and Works.

(This is the explanation of Articles VI and XX).

A. Works.

1. **How the Law can be fulfilled.** The Word of God enjoins obedience to the Ten Commandments. 1-3. This obedience comes from the spirit, given to us in regeneration, and in no other way. 4-15.
2. How God is **pleased** by the works of those who are in Christ. Not because they can propitiate God's wrath; but because they are God's children; hence faith **precedes,** and love **follows.** Therefore mortal sins cannot exist with faith. 18-23.

B. Love.

1. The **Romanists,** as teachers of the law, select one work, namely, love, and teach: Love justifies, that is, for the sake of love with faith (*meritum de condigno*) man merits grace and eternal life. 24-25.
2. The **Lutherans** admit that love is a work of the Holy Spirit; does this not prove that it justifies? We answer: No!

   (1) For we **receive forgiveness,** not through love, nor on account of love, but **through faith** on account of Christ. Both he who doubts (the unbeliever) and he who seeks another way, dishonor Christ. As little as we are justified by patience, etc., so little are we justified by love. 26-30.

Sometimes by synecdoche Christ names the effect, but refers to the cause. Thus in the case of the great sinner; he tells her: "Thy faith has saved thee," and points out the love to the Pharisees as evidence of faith. 31-38.

(2) Our obedience to the Law is incomplete. Hence this inchoate fulfilment is acceptable only on account of faith, and does not justify, nor should we trust in it. 39-40.

Christ is also the Mediator for God's children, as he does not forgive only in the beginning, but also in the end. 41-44.

Scriptures and experience show that the law cannot be fulfilled perfectly, and that our obedience is only the beginning, and partial at that, and we are reconciled only for the sake of Christ. 45-60.

All this proves that **faith alone justifies.** Justification is promised for Christ's sake, and after justification follows the fulfilment of the law. 61.

## C. Reply to the Arguments of the Romanists.

### I. In General.

The **fundamental difference** referred to in the beginning explains all objections of the Romanists: They quote only such passages as speak of the Law and works; those of the promise they omit. 62.

1. The Law cannot be fulfilled without Christ, and the righteousness does not count before God; but faith justifies, while works are the fruits of faith. 63.
2. The division noted above explains all passages quoted by the Romanists: first comes the promise concerning reconciliation; then comes the law, because God requires good works from the reconciled. 64-67.
3. The three motives for good works are: 1. God's command; 2. The exercise of faith; 3. Confession and thanksgiving. 68-72.
4. The reward for good works is not grace, but temporal and eternal gifts. 73-81.

5. The **error** of **confusing** faith and works is **an old one.**
   (a) **Men saw** the works of saints and imagined that they received forgiveness on account of these works.
   (b) They then **imitated** these works of the saints and thus also hoped to merit forgiveness. But in this way (1) they rob Christ of all His honor and ascribe honor to works; (2) they have no peace, but heap up works until they despair; (3) they never attain true knowledge of God. 82-84.
   (c) History shows this error. The heathen, Israel, hypocrites, the Roman mass, monasticism confuse faith and works. 85-91.
6. But this doctrine is erroneous, whilst ours gives all honor to Christ and truly pacifies the conscience. 92-96.

**II. In Particular.**

1. Refutation of **individual passages** along the above lines. 97-164.
2. Refutation of the Roman **construction.** They teach two modes of justification: one arising from reason, the other from the Law. 165-166.
   a. Their doctrine of meriting justification comes from reason. 167.
   b. Their doctrine of infusion of love comes from the Law. 168. But both are wrong, since they exclude Christ. The first is ungodly. 169. Over against these, the right doctrine is, justification by faith in the promise. 170-179.
   c. The result of the Romish construction is a doctrine of **doubt and uncertainty** (180-182), whilst ours brings **consolation** to the troubled soul. 182.
3. Refutation of the argument, "If righteousness is in the will, it cannot be assigned to faith in the intellect."
   (a) Contrition and faith are not merely in the intellect, but also in the will. 183.
   (b) This is shown by the Scriptures. 184-194.
4. Refutation of the doctrine, *de merito condigni, i. e.,* justification by works and love.
   (a) If Christ is in truth the Mediator, then we are justified only by faith. 196-197.

(b) The Roman doctrine leaves the conscience in doubt; it brings no peace, because the **Law** always **accuses,** but never appeases. 198-199.

(c) Then we never know whether we have done enough; this condition produces either hypocrisy or despair. 200.

(d) The whole Church confesses that eternal life comes from mercy: Augustine, Cyprian, all the Fathers, and the Bible. 201-203. Mercy is accepted by faith, as the Scriptures teach. 204-222. And hope is no uncertain expectation, but trust in the certain promise. 223-226.

5. Refutation of the doctrine of **reward.**

(a) Good works follow not as merit, but as evidences of faith. 225-234.

(b) The reward of good works is not eternal life; this is a free gift of grace. 235-248.

(c) The reward spoken of refers to the works after justification. 249-253.

(d) By their doctrine the Romanist teachers destroy the righteousness through faith. 254-268.

#### Conclusion.

It is not necessary to be troubled by the multitude and influence of the false teachers, since the Church does not consist of the false teachers, but only of the true believers. 269-270.

### Article VII. Of the Church.

The Romanists reject our definition, "The Church is the congregation of saints", since they say the wicked should not be separated from the Church. 1.

#### I. The Definition of the Church.

1. According to outward fellowship, many wicked persons belong to the church, as Art. VIII shows. Even Antichrist sits within the church. 1-4.
2. According to the **inner and principal** fellowship of faith and the Holy Ghost in the hearts, the Church is the congregation of the saints. 5-8.

3. This **distinction** is highly **necessary** if we look upon the multitude of wicked members and upon the national organizations. 9-11.

**Further explanation.**

1. The Church is the living body of Christ.
   (a) What makes us **principally** members of the Church? Not outward polity, but the eternal and spiritual things, the Holy Spirit, true righteousness, etc. 12-15.
   (b) The wicked, though **outwardly** in fellowship with the church are in reality of the kingdom of the devil, though the difference has not yet been revealed. 16-19.
2. The Church is **perpetual.**
   (a) We do **not** speak of an abstract, **imaginary** (Platonic) state, but of God's kingdom all over earth.
   (b) The marks of the Church are **pure doctrine** and the **Sacraments.**
   (c) The **foundation** is the true knowledge of Christ by faith. 20.
      (1) Many weak persons build upon this foundation their unprofitable opinions, but they still retain the foundation. 20.
      (2) But the doctrine of the **Romanists** is **manifest error,** which removes "the foundation", which is Christ. 21-22.
3. The Church is **not** the visible **Roman organization.** 23-27.
   (a) The Romanists demand that we define the Church as "the supreme outward monarchy under the Pope". (1) This definition as given in the decretals is applicable only to the Roman Church. 23. (2) It is also found in Dan. 11:36 as **that of Antichrist.** 24.
   (b) If we accepted this definition, we would be treated mildly; but we are blamed because we proclaim justification by faith. We do not care, however, for the enemies' judgment. 25-27.
4. A restatement of the scriptural doctrine. 28-29.

**II. The Unity of the Church.**

1. The Romanist teachers condemn our statement in the second part of Art. VII. 30. They distinguish between **uni-**

**versal** and **local** rites; they claim that the former are essential to church unity.

2. We speak of the spiritual unity of the believers, and confess that universal and local traditions contribute nothing, nor are they wrought by the Holy Spirit. 31.
3. **Errors** arising from the Roman view.
   (a) Christian holiness, they assert, without the "universal traditions" is of no value before God, etc. 32.
      (1) But these differences affect the unity of the Church as little as the length of the days affect it. We are in favor of the universal rites, if they have **educational** and instructive **value.** 33. But in the question of rites as **necessary** for righteousness before God, they make as little difference as the cut of men's coats, whether according to the German or the French style. 34.
      (2) Ours is the doctrine of the **Scriptures.** 35-37.
   (b) The universal traditions must be observed, our opponents declare, because they are **apostolic.** So they want to retain the apostolic customs, but not the apostolic teaching. 38-39.
      (1) But the **apostles condemn** even the rites instituted **by God,** if they are considered as **necessary for salvation.** 40a.
      (2) Paul calls this very doctrine a doctrine of the devils. 40b.
      (3) When the apostles observed such ordinances, they did not do so on the ground that such observance was necessary to salvation. 40c.
      (4) Why did the bishops change the time of Easter? 41-44.

**Conclusion.** The Romanists do not know what righteousness of faith is, if they emphasize the universal customs in this way. 45. They have even changed the divine ordinance of the Lord's Supper by making it a sacrifice. 46.

### Article VIII. Of Ungodly Priests.

The Romanists approve this article. Christ himself admonishes us not to excite schisms on account of the sins of

priests and people. 49. Hence we reject the (Wiclifite) teaching, which forbids priests having property. This is a civil matter; therefore it is free to all Christians. 50.

### Article IX. Of Baptism.

The Roman teachers approve this article. Because we teach the Gospel purely and diligently, the Anabaptists have gained no foothold in the Lutheran churches.

We reject the error that infant baptism is void, since the promise of salvation pertains also to infants. Hence they must be baptized and salvation offered to them. God manifestly approves of infant baptism, as he gives the Spirit to those thus baptized. 52-53.

### Article X. Of the Lord's Supper.

1. They approve this article. 54a.
2. The Real Presence is taught by the Scriptures. 54b. This is the common doctrine of the (ancient) Roman and Greek Church. Proof: The Canon (ritual), Bulgarius (Theophylact), and Cyrillus. 55-56.
3. Hence we teach the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ, tendered with the bread and wine.
4. It is the living Christ who is present. 57.

### Article XI. Of Confession.

The Romanists approve the first part; but they demand that we enforce annual confession and enumeration of all sins remembered. 58.

#### I. The Principle of Confession.

1. We have brought **consolation** to many by the doctrine of **absolution.** Now they know that we should believe that remission of sins is granted freely through faith in Christ. 59a.
2. It was **Luther** who **brought to light** this doctrine so long suppressed by the sophists in their teaching of salvation through works. 59b.

### II. Certain times for Confession.

1. Most people with us use absolution and the Lord's Supper **frequently,** as the preachers teach and admonish. Only open sinners are rejected. 60-61.
2. But a fixed time is **not prescribed.** It would be impractical, and is not commanded by the ancient laws or the Scriptures.

### III. Enumeration of Sins.

1. Enumeration of some sins is of advantage, especially for the inexperienced; but this is **not a divine law.** 63.
2. The regulation of the Bull *Omnis utriusque,* brought unspeakable **snares** upon the conscience, and strife among confessors for the — **fees!** 64-65.
3. Good pastors **will know how to act** and will avoid torture of conscience, whilst the so-called Summists are utterly silent concerning forgiveness of sins and Christ, but insist on long lists of sins against human traditions. 66-67.

## Article XII. Of Repentance.

They approve the first part; but **deny** that **faith is the second part** of repentance. Hence we must prove this point at length.

### I. Repentance.

#### 1. Delineation of the Roman Doctrine.

Before Luther there was great confusion. Who of them can tell how sins are forgiven? They are not sure whether in **attrition** or **contrition.** Others say punishments are merely changed. Others, sins are forgiven before the Church, not before God, etc., etc. 4-10.

In **confession** they insist upon enumeration of all sins as commanded by God, and claim that it works without faith, *ex opere operato,* by merely doing so.

Concerning **satisfaction,** they imagine that eternal punishments are changed into purgatory, which may be remitted, or partly remitted, by satisfactions. Hence their rosaries, pilgrimages, etc. And in order to have a revenue, they sell indulgences for the living and the dead. And there is no end of false doctrine. 11. Some are enumerated. 13-23.

### 2. The Lutheran Doctrine.

This is short. Repentance has two parts: **contrition and faith.**

#### *a. Contrition.*

Contrition is the **true terror of conscience,** which feels God's wrath over sin, and which grieves that it has sinned. 29a. Contrition comes from the proclamation of the law, 29b. Thus the conscience is awakened and flees from the wrath of God. 32-34.

#### *b. Faith.*

Faith **accepts** the promise of free forgiveness of sins; it cheers, sustains, and quickens the contrite heart. 35-36. Here is the difference between Judas and Peter, Saul and David. 36-37.

**Absolution,** the Sacraments and the Gospel **strengthen** this faith. 38-42.

This is the plain and clear doctrine, which emphasizes the use of the means of grace and renders all glory to Christ. 43.

### 3. Proof for the Lutheran Doctrine.

**A. In general:** *Repentance or conversion has two parts.*

1. From the **Scriptures.** This is the doctrine of Christ (44-45), of Paul (46-48), of the Psalms and Isaiah, etc. (49-52), of the division of the Word into law and gospel. 53-54.
2. From the **lives of the saints.** 55-58.

**B. In particular:** *Faith is the second part of Repentance.*

Preliminary remark: Faith does not mean general belief, but special faith that my sins are forgiven, which follows after contrition, and frees from terrors. 60.

1. **Absolution** is a part of the Roman sacrament of repentance; it (absolution) can be accepted only by faith; hence faith is a part of repentance. 61-62.
2. **Forgiveness** is the object of repentance; it can be received only by faith. Hence faith is a part of repentance. 63-74.
3. If forgiveness is earned by contrition, then it comes from the law. But this is against Paul's clear assertion. 75-87.

4. A conscience can never be **consoled** by the Law, but only by the Gospel, 88-90.
5. This is also taught by the Fathers; the alleged proofs for the Roman doctrine are only mutilations of the facts.

### II. Confession.

We lay more stress upon the constituent parts of repentance (*i. e.*, contrition and faith) than upon confession and satisfaction. 1.

We **retain confession** on account of the absolution, and it would be wicked to abolish it. 2-4.

But enumeration of sins is no divine institution. The priest sits not as a judge to investigate secret sins, but as a **proclaimer of God's grace.** 5-8.

The Romanists' proofs are ridiculous. 9-12. The old teachers taught differently. 13-15.

### III. Satisfaction.

Satisfaction is *derived from the old penitential discipline,* and it was intended as a warning punishment. These customs have become **obsolete,** and should not be revived. Nor was satisfaction instituted to merit thereby remission, as Jews or heathen give satisfaction. Nor were they instituted by God in order to bring remission of sins. 17-20.

1. The Roman Church admits that satisfactions **do not produce** forgiveness of sins, but they are to redeem from punishment here and in purgatory.
   (1) They claim that the **guilt is forgiven,** but eternal punishment is commuted into temporal; part is remitted by the priest, the balance must be redeemed by satisfaction (they do not say which part, here or in purgatory!). 21.
   (2) This is **all fictitious.** Even (Peter) the Lombard did not teach this. The Romanists got mixed on external discipline and righteousness before God, and hence confounded spiritual and civil matters. The canons show that these observances were matters of discipline. 21-24.

(3) The authors of the Confutation quote many passages, as if they referred to these ordinances, which were unknown even as late as (Peter) the Lombard. 25.

(Here follows a long argument against such "godless sophists". 24-34).

The **Scriptures** cited by the Romanists speak in **no way of canonical satisfactions,** and are plain perversions of the Word of God.

(4) We say: Good works of every kind ought to **follow conversion.** But these are not the hypocritical satisfactions, but are **true works of righteousness** resulting from true faith. 34-40.

The ministry can not remit and commute punishments, but can forgive and retain sins of the converted and unconverted respectively. 41-42. Christ has freed us from the guilt and from death; hence it is absurd to merit eternal life by satisfactions. Such a doctrine obscures repentance and grace. 43-50.

2. The Romanists claim that there must be punishment in repentance. This is true; but contrition in repentance is a greater punishment than the ridiculous "satisfactions" of the Roman Church. 51-52.

3. The Romanists say: "It belongs to God to punish sin." 53.
   a. Certainly it does! And he does so by contrition, afflictions and death, in order to make man better; note the examples of Adam, David, Job, etc. 54-69.
   b. When the **Fathers** speak of satisfactions, they refer only to **church discipline,** not to conditions for the remission of guilt or of atonement. And if they speak of purgatory, they see in it a way of purification, not of satisfaction. 74-76.

4. The Confutation says: "Do not abolish satisfactions contrary to the gospel."
   a. But the Gospel does not command them. 75-76.
   b. We insist on good works as **fruits of repentance.** These are the works of the Ten Commandments, not in order to merit forgiveness, but to glorify God. 77-78.

**Article XIII. Of the Number and Use of the Sacraments.**

The Romanists approve this article; but demand that we should count seven Sacraments. 1.

**I. What is a Sacrament?**

1. The most important thing is to **retain, not** to **number** the institutions of Christ. 2.
2. If a Sacrament is a **rite commanded by God** to which grace has been added, it is easy to decide which are the sacraments over against human institutions for the purpose of instruction. 3. Then we have as sacraments only: Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Absolution.

   These rites were instituted by God and have the **promise** of New Testament grace. 4. The **effect** of the Word and the rite is the **same;** faith is produced. 5.
3. The pretended Roman sacraments.
   a. **Confirmation** and **extreme unction** are traditional rites, not necessary to salvation, not instituted by God, and without promise of grace. 6.
   b. **Priesthood** is understood not as ministry of the Word, but as an office instituted in order to merit remission through sacrifices.

      We teach that Christ's sacrifice is sufficient for all men and for all time, and for his sake believers are justified. 8. Hence the ministers are called only to preach the Word and administer the sacraments. 9. If understood *in this sense,* we might call ordination *a sacrament,* since it is commanded by God and has great promises. 10-12. This can be done against fanatical men who wait for special illumination. 13.
   c. **Matrimony** is no New Testament sacrament, though commanded by God, for it has no promise of special divine grace in the New Testament. 14.

      If called a sacrament, it must be placed in a separate class from the above. Then also other **similar institutions** of God would be sacraments. 15. If everything commanded by God and connected with a promise is a sacrament, then prayer, alms, etc., might as well be enumerated. 16. No sane man will contend concerning the number, if the thing itself is retained. 17.

**II. How is the Sacrament to be used?**

1. We **reject** the scholastic doctrine of the *ex opere operato* — that the sacrament is **in itself effective,** providing there is no hindrance in the way. This idea, that we are justified by a mere ceremony without faith, is **Jewish.** Yet it is universally taught in the papacy. 18.
2. Paul shows that Abraham was justified not by circumcision, but by faith. Likewise faith must accept the promise of forgiveness of which the sacrament is the sign. 19-20. The faith referred to is not general faith, but **special faith** in the promised forgiveness which consoles the alarmed soul. 21-22.
3. Unutterable **harm** has been done by the Romish doctrine, and the profanation of the mass is incalculable. 23a. Not a letter can be produced from the Fathers in support of it; indeed Augustine says the very opposite. 23b.

### Article XIV. Of the Ministry.

The Roman confessors approve this article, provided we interpret the *rite vocatus* as the canonical ordination. 24a.

1. We have often expressed our **willingness** to retain the **historical** organization as a human institution. 24b.

2. The cruel **persecutions** of the bishops against our clergy is the cause of the dissolution of order. 25.

3. Hence not we, but the **bishops,** are **responsible** for this dissolution of the historical organization. 26-28.

### Art. XV. Concerning Traditions.

The Romanists **approve** of the first assertion: "Ceremonies which can be observed without sin should be retained." They **reject** the second statement: "Human institutions designed to appease God, etc., are against the gospel." 1-2.

**Our Reply.**

We had expected better arguments; but it is plain that the Romanist teaching is openly Judaizing.

1. **St. Paul** calls such traditions, **doctrines of the devil,** for they are against Christ and righteousness by faith. 4. The

Gospel teaches that remission is obtained freely for Christ's sake. The Romanists set an other mediator, viz., the traditions. 5.

2. We have proved, above, justification **by faith,** not by works. 6. They teach forgiveness by these human observances. Paul rejects this even if asserted of the Mosaic Law. 8-11.

If they say, "After we have remission by faith, we must merit grace by these traditions," this is against Gal. 2:17 and 3:15.

3. These traditions were **not intended** by the Fathers **to merit** remission, but were instituted for the sake of **good order.** 13. How could men become certain, if they have no word of God for it? 14. Then also the heathen and idolatrous Israelites would have been justified; but God considered them an abomination. 15-17.

4. Thereby they establish the kingdom of **Antichrist.** Anti-Christianity is such a new service invented by man, as also Mahometanism. 18a. Hence Papism is a part of anti-Christianity. This is exactly what **Daniel** 11 paints as the Antichrist. 18b-20.

If these traditions would be instituted merely for the sake of good order, we **would not object** to them; but they want to merit forgiveness through them. 21.

5. St. Paul (Col. 2:23) calls these traditions "a show of righteousness." 22. They **seem to be good,** and hence reason imagines that they atone. 23-24. The result is that infinite **evils follow** from obscuring the gospel and true works follow faith. 25-26.

This leaves the soul in **doubt.** 27-28. Hence we fortify ourselves against these hypocritical human rites by the word of God.

1. They do not merit remission and justification, and **are not necessary.** Col. 2:16-17 says this of the Mosaic law and human traditions. 29-30. Nor have the bishops power to institute justifying services, for Paul cuts off all such observances. 31-34. He admonishes us to **resist them,** since they justify as little as German or French fashions. 35-37.

2. The **ancient** Christian **customs,** as Sunday, festivals, etc., are held by us better than by the Romanists. 38-44.
3. Concerning **mortification** of the flesh and discipline we assert that it takes place through the cross and affliction imposed by God. 45. Besides these, there are **voluntary** exercises to curb the flesh which should be used always, not merely at specified periods. 46-48.
4. These traditions are **snares** for the conscience; when exacted as necessary, they are a torture; when abrogated, this might produce other evils. 49.

   We **reject them** when imposed as necessary for remission. 50. But they should be controlled in liberty, so as not to offend the inexperienced, and so as not to obscure the gospel; but they should be **cherished as ancient customs,** if they are held without sin, and as adiaphora. 51-52.

## Art. XVI. Of Political Order.

This article is approved by the Confutation.

### Our Doctrine.

Our books clearly show the **distinction** between the **kingdom of God** and the **civil** kingdom. Christ's kingdom is spiritual, knowing God, fearing him, believing, whereby an eternal righteousness commences. Yet we are permitted to make use of the existing political institutions as we may use medicine, architecture, food, etc. 54-55.

The **monks** have spread pernicious ideas on communism, poverty, etc., as evangelical counsels, and thereby have **obscured the gospel** and have endangered the civil life; our books have treated this topic in detail. 56.

The Gospel **does not dissolve** the political organization, but **approves** it and commands obedience to it. 57.

Julian and others charged that Christianity was destructive of the state, since revenge was forbidden; but Origen and others effectively replied to this charge. 58. Private revenge is forbidden, but not punishment by the government. 59-60.

It is likewise a lie and deceit that **Christian perfection** consists in not owning property; for Christianity does not consist in outward separation from the world, but faith and

true fear of God are Christian perfection. Abraham, David, Daniel were rich and honored, and yet were truly holy. 61-62.

Innumerable questions arose from this claim, confusing the people. 64. As many official persons have testified, our doctrine has cleared the obscurities produced by the monks. And we present it so that all may see that we do not overthrow good government, but esteem and protect it. 65.

### Art. XVII. Of Christ's Return to Judgment.

The statements of this article are approved in the Confutation.

### Art. XVIII. Of Free Will.

The opponents approve this article. They produce several quotations which do not belong here and warn against overestimating free will (as the Pelagians do), or denying it (as the Manichaeans do). 67.

#### Reply.

1. But what is the **distinction** between them and the **Pelagians,** since they also teach that man can do the works demanded by God and thereby merits grace? 68. As shown above (Art. IV-VI), Augustine refutes this doctrine from St. Paul. 69.

2. We admit that **externally** man has a free will and may perform righteousness of the law or flesh; though, as a rule, even few philosophers actually did lead a moral life. 70-71.

But it is wrong to assert that such works merit *de congruo* God's grace. 72. For hearts without the Holy Spirit do not fear and trust God. Hence "free will" can do **nothing in spiritual things** without the Holy Spirit. 73-74.

A clear distinction between civil and spiritual righteousness is necessary, as it is made by the Scriptures, Augustine, and recently by William of Paris. 75-76.

### Art. XIX. Of the Cause of Sin.

No exception is taken to this article.

## Art. XX. Of Good Works.

The Romanists reject our statement: "Good works do not merit forgiveness of sins." This rejection shows their spirit in this most important article, whereas St. Paul says that all the prophets unanimously teach that all believers receive gratuitous forgiveness. 78-80.

### Reply.

1. Their horrible **blasphemy** is unbearable. 81a. If the emperor and princes had seen this statement they would have expunged it. 81b.

2. The article condemned by the Catholics can be **proven** by uncounted passages from the Bible. There is almost no passage in the Bible where it is not taught. 82a. It is not necessary to say more for one who knows Christ and why He made the atonement. 82b.

3. But the Romanists **ascribe** atonement to the **works,** they condemn and threaten us for teaching the plain truth. 83.

We are ready to suffer anything for the glory of Christ and for the welfare of the church; for unless one knows that sins are forgiven for Christ's sake he must despair. 83.

Hence we must boldly **refute these assertions** by Bible passages; otherwise there would be no peace for the souls. 87. But we have discussed this matter at length above and refer to that part (Art. IV-VI).

4. The Romanists quote 2 Pet. 1:10; but Peter shows what Christians should do **after** they had received **forgiveness,** lest they fall from grace. 89-90.

5. They claim that our doctrine was condemned at the time of Augustine. But the opposite is true; Pelagius was condemned for teaching that works merit forgiveness. 91.

6. We have already stated that good works necessarily follow after faith. 92.

## Art. XXI. Of the Veneration of Saints.

### I. Concerning Honoring Saints.

The Catholics entirely condemn us because we do not accept the invocation of saints. In their **voluminous proof** they merely establish the fact that the saints should be honored,

as we honor living saints, who pray for others, as if for that reason invocation of dead saints was necessary. 1.

They assert that Cyprian requested the dying Cornelius to pray for the brethren. They quote Jerome against Vigilantius; but they overlook the fact that Jerome discusses honoring the saints, not invoking them. 2-3. Before Gregory I., there is no mention of invoking saints or applying their merits.

**Our Reply.**

1. We **approve honoring saints,** which may be done in three ways: (a) By thanking God for setting them as examples of grace, as teachers, etc., and that they have used these gifts. 4. (b) By strengthening our faith; *e. g.,* if he forgives Peter's sin, then grace is greater than our sin. 5. (c) By imitating their faith and virtues according to our conditions. 6.

But the Romanists do not **demand** this, but **invocation** (which even if it were without danger would be unnecessary). 7.

2. We admit that **angels pray** for us (Zach. 1:12) and **perhaps** also **saints pray** for the Church, not only in this life, but also beyond; but this **cannot be proven** from the Word, except through the dream 2 Macc. 15, 14. (8-9). Yet it does not follow that they should be invoked. 10. There is absolutely no basis for it in the Word, and all arguments are **imaginary.** 11-12. Hence we should not be asked to accept it on the basis that the old collects mention, but do not invoke, the saints. 13.

**II. Concerning Intercession of Saints.**

The Romanists not only require invocation, but also regard the saints as **intercessors** and propitiators. They make the distinction between intercessors and redeemers, but this is merely a form. 14.

They make them **mediators of intercession** and present Christ as severe, while the saints are said to be more friendly; thereby they drive men from Christ to the saints. 15.

They make them **mediators of redemption.** A mediator must have a word of God declaring that God will accept those coming to him through such a mediator. We have such

words concerning Christ; none concerning the saints. 17-18. A mediator must have merits to be imputed to others. Such we have of Christ (19-20), but none of the saints; and yet they demand trust in the merits of the saints. 21-24.

They **pronounce absolution** on the merits of Mary and the saints; they do likewise in consoling the dying. 25-26. Though Mary pray for the Church and is worthy of great honor, she is below Christ. 27-28. Yet she has been adored even as judge. The merits of saints are not applied to us; for remission comes alone through faith in Christ. 29-30.

For these reasons we reject the position given to saints by the Romanists. 31.

Various saints are assigned **particular power,** thus imitating heathen examples. 31-33. In this way saints were sought, and Christ was forgotten; then they were invoked; then came image worship. 34. The fabulous stories even outclass the tales of statues. 35.

Though the saints did great deeds, these were not sought and imitated (36), but fictitious miracles were invented. 37.

Because these stories bring money, they do not tolerate our emphasis of honoring Christ. 38-39.

## The Second Part (Articles XXII-XXVIII.)

### Art. XXII. Of Both Kinds in the Lord's Supper.

Beyond doubt it is correct to use **both forms** in the Sacrament.

1. For **Christ** instituted it thus for the whole church. Why do they change it? 1-2.
2. **Paul** names both elements, and says both should be used. 3.
3. The **Greek Church** has it thus to this day, and the old Roman Church had the same form (Cyprian, Jerome, Synod of Toledo). 4-5.

The **Romanists** do not consider how they would appease a conscience troubled on account of the change of institution, but insist that it must be used under one form. 6.

1. They **pretend** that only one form **was customary,** and try to prove it from Luke 24:35, where only bread is

mentioned. But this does not prove that *only* bread was given.

2. They quote reports of **lay communion** (which was in both forms), and try to make the impression that this was the lay communion of to-day. 8.
3. Gabriel Biel argues that priests are **more than laymen.** But this is a human fiction. 9.
4. They use the **prophecy** that **Eli's children** should be beggars (1 Sam. 2:39), and claim this signifies one form. But this is play of words; for there the punishment is prophesied. Do they wish to *punish* the laity by giving only one form? They say: "Laymen should be satisfied with one form." But their "they should," will not stand before God, because Eli's children were to be beggars. 10-13.
5. They argue: A drop of wine **might be spilled.** But even if we could change Christ's ordinance, how does this prove that it *should* be done?
   But those who do change Christ's ordinance, and even kill people for obeying Christ's command, will have to give account before God.
   Even if bishops and priests resolve this, it is not at once the action of the Church. Especially as the Scripture prophesies that there would be priests and bishops who would not obey God's command. 14-16.

## Art. XXIII. Of the Marriage of Priests.

The great scandal of lewdness and adultery, notwithstanding, they venture to defend the papal law forbidding marriage of priests, as if this were a divine command, and admonish the emperor not to tolerate it.

### I. The boldness of the Romanists in their demand.

1. They demand of the emperor that he should **protect their lusts,** and impose atrocious punishments, exile women and children in enforcing celibacy. 2-4.
2. They do not seriously defend celibacy, but their endangered dominion. 5.

**2. Our reasons against celibacy.**

1. Gen. 1:28. Physical love is a divine ordinance, and cannot be removed by human statutes and vows. 7.
   The Romanists say: "This was true until the earth should be populated, but no longer." 8a. But man cannot change it; God only can. 8b.
2. Jurists, therefore, call this "a natural right," which is as unchanged as nature. The Romanist assertion, "no longer," is as ridiculous as to say: "Formerly man had sex, but has no longer." 11.
   Besides a natural right is a divine right, and *only God* can change it. 12. We do not speak of lust, but of physical love and lawful marriage instituted to guard against sexual sins. 13.
3. 1 Cor. 7:2 commands marriage for those who are not fit for celibacy. 14.
   The Romanists say: "Show a law demanding the marriage of priests." But Paul's word is for *all men* and this includes priests.
   They say: "Overcome the desire by labor," etc. But why do they not practice this? Christ says such is a special gift of God given a few. Gerson admits that few succeed, and Ambrose says celibacy may be recommended, but not commanded. The impure continence of the monasteries does not please Christ. We also recommend it, but we make no law.
4. The **canons do not impose** it. Old canons do not forbid it, but such priests were to be dismissed, not divorced. Later papal law forbade it and demanded divorce.
5. The Romanists as a pretext of religion diffuse **superstition.** They demand celibacy since married life is impure: Old Testament priests were to abstain from sexual intercourse *at stated times,* hence priests are to be celibates.
   (a) But marriage is pure since it is approved by God. 28. Our proof is Matt. 19: 6; 1 Tim. 4:5, etc. 29-31. Let the Romanists teachers produce similar words for celibacy. 32.
   Paul emphasizes faith and matrimonial works.
   In the ungodly virginity is impure; in the godly marriage is pure. 33-34.

(b) Purity does not consist in celibacy, and the law does not forbid marriage, but lust, adultery, lewdness. A married man may be purer than a real celibate. 35.

(c) They say: "Celibate purity merits justification more than marriage". But we are jutified neither on account of marriage, but freely on account of Christ through faith. 36-37.

(d) They say: "Virginity excels marriage as one art excels another". But as an orator is no more righteous before God than an architect, so both virgins and married are justified only by faith. Paul does not praise virginity as justifying, but as affording more time to God's kingdom. 38-40.

The Levitical law has been fulfilled, and we oppose it like Paul did circumcision. 41-42.

Continence in marriage is easy to the good and occupied, but impossible to the slothful. 43-44. Heretics by misunderstanding (Moses, Epiphanius) forbade also marriage. 45.

By suppressing the truth conscience is troubled and misled to trust in observances which were instituted to instruct. 45-47.

6. The **practical results** (danger to souls, scandals) demand abolishment of celibacy, even if it were not unjust. 51. Many have complained in vain; no pope gives ear. 52. God avenges the contempt of his gift; nature is growing old and weaker; hence divinely instituted remedies should be applied. 53.

The last times are to be similar to vicious times before the flood, Sodom, Sybaris and Rome; hence now marriage should be upheld so much the more by the magistrates. The teachers should exhort the incontinent to marry and the others to be continent. 54-55.

Dispensation is granted from all other laws; but married priests are suspended (by the canons from the office, now from the trees).

By insisting upon celibacy the Romanists cause schism. 56-59.

(A review and conclusion of this part follows in 60-61.)

### 3. The arguments of the Romanists.

1. Celibacy has been revealed by God. But this is falsehood. St. Paul speaks entirely different, yea, calls this doctrine of celibacy a doctrine of the demons. 63.
2. Priests ought to be "pure." But virginity (see above) *without* faith is not purity before God, and marriage *with* it is pure. Outward Levitical purity is not transferred to the New Testament. The purity demanded in Isaiah 52:11 is cleanness of heart. 64. Saints will know how to restrain the use of marriage. 65. Celibates that cannot remain continent should marry to be pure. 66.
3. Marriage of priests is Jovinian heresy. But at Jovinian's time there was no law of celibacy. 67. This shows that the Romanists try to deceive the ignorant, and would not furnish a copy of their Confutation. 68. We do not make marriage and celibacy equal. (See above). 69.

Such false arguments are used to defend a godless, immoral law and to induce rulers to torture and kill married priests. This blood cries to heaven, and God will avenge it. 70.

Our rulers will, in obedience to God's laws, not disrupt the marriage of priests. 71.

## Art. XXIV. Of the Mass.

### Preliminary statements.

We do not abolish the mass, but **retain it** together with the liturgy, etc. 1. The Romanists speak much about the use of Latin in the Mass, and imagine that the mere work of hearing a service not understood is a service. 2-3. (4-5).

Our discontinuance of the **private mass** is not against the Catholic Church. Greek churches to this day have only the public mass on Sundays and festivals. 6. Before Gregory I. private masses were unknown. 7-8.

The Romanists adduce proofs that the mass is a **sacrifice.** But they do not prove that a mass confers grace *ex opere operato,* nor that it can be applied to others for remission. 9. They should confine their proofs to the points under discussion. 10.

We did prove in the Augsburg Confession that they do not work *ex opere operato,* since faith alone justifies. 11-12. This refutes the Pharisaic opinion of our adversaries. 13.

In order to show their abuse of Scriptures we will show:

### A. What is a Sacrifice and What are the Kinds of Sacrifices?

Our adversaries make no distinction; hence they are "poor butchers" (Aristotle.) 16. Sacred works are either "sacraments" or "sacrifices." 17. (a) A **"sacrament"** is a work of grace by God towards men. (b) A **"sacrifice"** is a work by men in which they honor God. 18.

1. There are only **two kinds** of sacrifices: (a) **Propitiatory,** by which God's wrath is appeased; (b) **Eucharistic,** by which thanks are offered to God. 19-20.

2. The Levitic sacrifices did not merit forgiveness, but prevented exclusion from God's people. The Levitical eucharistic sacrifices were oblations, tithe, etc. 21.

3. There is **only one true propitiatory sacrifice** — the death of Christ, by which sin was expiated and to which Levitical sacrifices pointed. 22-24 All other sacrifices are eucharistic, *i. e.,* they do not reconcile, but are made by those already reconciled. 25. They are the sacrifices of the New Testament. 26.

4. The whole worship of the New Testament is the spiritual fruit of faith. 27. Thereby all opinions of *ex opere operato* works are condemned.

The prophets condemn the *ex opere operato* idea and demand faith. 28.

The whole Scripture teaches that new and pure sacrifices are to be made, as preaching, prayer, etc. 30.

Mal. 1:11 speaks of these (31), which the Romanists interpret falsely. 31b-32.

Mal. 3:3 requires sacrifices of righteousness; these are preaching and its fruits. 34.

5. The **"daily sacrifices"** Ex. 29:38, etc., were commanded by God; hence mass should be celebrated daily, say the Romanists. 35a.

a. This is proof from an allegory. If understood of the real sacrifices, viz., word, faith, prayer and thanks, we accept the statement; but this does not prove that it avails *ex opere operato*, or can be applied to others. 35b.

b. Even as an allegory the daily sacrifice represents the preaching. The three parts were the sacrificed lamb (Christ), the libation (by preaching the believers are sprinkled with blood and thus sanctified), the flour (the thanksgiving of the heart). 36-40. Hence we do not abolish "the daily sacrifice," but they abolish it by retaining the ceremonies and using them to gain money. 41-43.

c. They make much ado about **our altars** standing **unadorned** with candles and images. (But we do have some!) 44. But Paul speaks about the desolation where there is no preaching of the Gospel as it is with the Romanists. 45-46. People were not taught, but tormented with enumerations of offenses and with satisfactions, and they hear nothing of faith. This is the desolation prophesied by Daniel. 46-47. With us the priests teach the gospel and good works. 48.

d. Even if the sacrifices were the daily sacrifices, we observe it better than they, and more solemnly. We do instruct the people; then administer the sacrament, and our churches are better attended; the true adornment is godly doctrine, prayer, etc., 48-50. In the Romanists churches these are lacking. 51.

6. They quote Heb. 5:1, and say: "Hence there are **high priests** and sacraments." By this they deceive the ignorant, but it is merely a Levitical affectation. 52.

a. But Heb. 5:5; 6:10 at once adds that Christ is the high priest, and the Levitical priesthood was a **type of Christ,** the true Expiator. 53.

b. The whole epistle shows that the Old Testament priests and sacrifices did not reconcile God and man, but simply **foreshadowed** Christ, and by faith in the coming Christ the Old Testament believers were justified. 54.

c. Since **Christ** is the **only** atoning sacrifice, they err in instituting new sacrifices and applying them for others and corrupting the doctrine and making other mediators. 56-58.

d. The priesthood of the New Testament is the ministry of the Spirit; it tenders the gospel and sacraments; through these men conceive faith and contrition, which does not occur by applying a work of an other *ex opere operato*. 60.

**Conclusion:** We have shown the following: Why the mass does not justify and cannot be applied *ex opere operato* to others; also: the Scriptures quoted do not teach the godless opinion of the adversaries. Also the other errors are refuted that the mass *ex opere operato* confers grace even upon the wicked. 61-63.

From these errors many **other errors originated;** such as: Mass applied to individuals is better than applied to many; masses can be sold, can be used for the dead. 64. These errors can be proven neither from the Scriptures, nor from the Fathers. 65-67.

### B. Of the Use of the Sacraments and of Sacrifices.

Clever men have imagined two purposes of the Lord's Supper: (1) It is a **testimony** of profession (as a monk's hood); (2) It is a pleasing **token** of Christian fellowship (as banquets). But this does not show the chief use. 68.

*What is a Sacrament?*

Sacraments are **tokens of God's will toward us,** signs of grace. 69.

The Word is a **promise** of grace, and a ceremony is a picture or **seal.**

As the Word can be accepted only by faith, so a ceremony is useless unless faith is added; as the promise excites faith, so does the ceremony. 70.

Such use of the New Testament ceremonies is required by faith, for this is the difference between remembering Christ and Ulysses; and faith apprehending God's mercy quickens. 71-73.

*What is a sacrifice?*

The **sacrifice of thanksgiving** is added for several purposes.

After a conscience has perceived from what terrors it has been freed, it fervently **renders thanks** and uses the ceremony itself to testify the high esteem of God's great gifts. Thus the ceremony becomes a sacrifice of praise. 74.

*The Fathers.*

The Fathers speak of this twofold effect.

**Ambrose** testifies that in the Sacrament the remission of sins is offered, and also that this should be received in faith. Numerous testimonies of other Fathers declare the same. 75.

**Cyprian** speaks of thanksgiving. We should remember what has been given and forgiven, and should give thanks. 76a. Thus the term "eucharist" originated. 76b. But the ceremony of thanksgiving itself cannot be applied to others; this would conflict with the right of faith. 77.

*The term "mass."*

The adversaries also argue **from philology.**

1. They say: "leiturgia" denotes "a sacrifice;" and Greeks call the mass "liturgy." 78. (Why do they not also quote the Greek designation *synaxis* (communion)? 79.
   But this word does not signify a "sacrifice," but **public worship** (as we teach it). 80. It refers to the public administration of burdens in Demosthenes, Pertinax and Paul, a collection (81-83a), and not to prayers, which is *lite* in Greek. 83b.
2. They infer from the word **altar** (which Paul mentions by way of comparison) that there is sacrifice. 84.
   But this **farfetched etymology** does not prove the assertion since in Deut. 16:10 it designates **a collection** brought by the people, as was customary also among the first Christians (from which the bread and wine was taken and used in the sacrament). Hence the sacrament was called "mass" or *agape*. 85-86.
   But **even if** called a "mass" or **offering** this does not prove that it works *ex opere operato* and can be applied for remission. 87a.

It might be called an offering or eucharist on account of the **thanksgiving;** but we are not disputing about prayers, but about the Lord's Supper. 87b.

The **Greek Canon** (ritual) also speaks at length of "offering"; but it shows that it does not speak of the body and blood of Christ, but of the whole service, prayers and thanksgiving; we do not object to this. 88.

3. Some think that **"mass"** is not derived from the Hebrew, but from the Latin "missa" and denotes *remissio* — since the communicants were dismissed with the words: *Ite, missa est.* Similarly the term *Laois aphesis* was used. 88. If this is correct, then it is an excellent idea, for forgiveness should always be preached and proclaimed. 88b.

But whatever *missa* may mean it helps the matter but little. 88c.

### *Of the mass for the dead.*

Although our opponents have no Scripture proof, yet they have applied the Lord's Supper **for the souls of the dead,** and derive large revenue from it. This is in violation of the Second Commandment by using the name of God in vain. For:

1. It is a **dishonor to the Gospel** to hold that, *ex opere operato,* without faith a ceremony reconciles God and makes atonement; that a priest can do as much as Christ. For only Christ's death can overcome sin and death through faith, and cannot be applied to another. 89.

2. We pass by many arguments (as their testimonies for purgatory, for the nature of purgatory punishment, and arguments for satisfaction), and claim that the Lord's Supper was instituted to offer remission of sins. It does not make satisfaction (this was done by Christ's death); hence it is not satisfaction, but a promise demanding faith. 90.

By transferring the Sacrament to the dead and for satisfaction they are guilty of sacrilege, having banished the daily sacrifice, being guilty of Christ's body and blood and defiling and corrupting the Gospel and Sacrament. 91.

3. The application for the dead **is useless.** There is no Scripture passage for it, and the Church should not institute service without it. 92.
4. Neither does the Greek Canon (ritual) apply it as satisfaction for the dead, but for all Patriarchs, prophets and apostles as a thanksgiving, speaking of all parts (prayers, etc.). 93. We do not disapprove of these prayers for the dead, but of the *ex opere operato* application of the sacrament for them. This is not approved in these prayers. 94.
5. Against the testimony of Gregory and recent writers we **appeal** to the **Scriptures.** 94b.
6. The Fathers do not agree; they were men and could err, and be deceived. 95.
7. They adduce the condemnation of Aerius, condemned for denying that the mass is an offering for the living and dead. This is their favorite scheme: they adduce ancient heresies and identify us with them.

   Aerius (see Epiphanius) said prayers for the dead are useless. We do not defend Aerius, but the fact that mass does not justify *ex opere operato, does not merit* remission even for the unjust, provided there be no obstacle. Their assertion detracts from the glory of Christ's passion and overthrows the honor of Christ. 96.
8. There was a similar superstition of the Law, as if it merited remission *ex opere operato* (Basil, etc.) condemned by the prophets. 97a.

   Carnal men do not understand Christ's sacrifice, and thus ascribe the same effect to other services and sacrifices. 97b. As there was the church at that time alongside of Baalism, so there is the true church alongside of the Antichrist in our time. 98.

*Conclusion.*

All good men may everywhere understand from this statement that we maintain the dignity of the mass, show its true use, and have good reason for dissenting from the Romanist doctrine. 99a.

We admonish all good men not to support the mass. 99b.

We have used great moderation; if we have to speak of

all kinds of abuses of the mass, the case will be treated with less moderation. 99c.

### Art. XXV. Of Confession.

(This article is not discussed separately. The Lutheran doctrine is defended in connection with article XII.)

### Art. XXVI. Of the Distinction of Meats, and Tradition.

(The Apology contains no discussion of this article).

### Art. XXVII. Of Monastic Vows.

**John Hilten,** a pious monk of Eisenach, 30 years ago predicted that there would come one in 1516 who would destroy monasticism. 1-4.

**Formerly** monasteries were schools of Christian instruction; but **now** they support an idle crowd of murderers of good men. 5-7.

There **still** are a few good men, innocent of these atrocities and hypocrisy, but we discuss the form of present monasticism and its abuses. 9-10a.

#### Our arguments.

They pervert reason and try to prove their own case. (*cf.* Luther, *De Votis monasticis*). 10b.

1. A vow that is to merit forgiveness and to make satisfaction **is sinful.**
   a. It is an insult to the gospel, which teaches that remission is free for Christ's sake (see above), 11.
   b. The **Romanists** explain Paul's words thus: the monks observe these vows for Christ's sake, and live according to the gospel to merit eternal life; wherefore the assertions of the Augsburg Confession are wicked. 12.
      But **we** merely repeated the **Gospel truth** revealed through Christ attested by Christ's death, by the Holy Spirit, and by the entire Church. 13.
   c. **Paul** denies human merit in the observance even of the divine law of Moses; how much more of human traditions? 14.
      The Romanists feign to explain their doctrine thus: Paul abolished the Mosaic law, but Christ succeeds in

a new way, by establishing other laws which are to be observed and human merit thus won. 15. They feign by poverty, chastity and obedience, even while they live in abundance to observe the law of Christ more rigidly than others (16-17), and call our assertions wicked. 18-19.

Our proofs have been stated at length above: man does not merit remission. 20.

2. Obedience, poverty and celibacy are sometimes exercises, if pure, but are *adiaphora;* hence saints **may use them** (Bernard, Franciscus and others). They are bodily exercises profiting little. 21.

Even today there are men who observe such vows. 22. But to use them to merit eternal life conflicts directly with the Gospel. 23.

a. The **Romanists** teach that these services **justify** the observer, and make men holier by such works of supererrogation. 24.

But this is Pharisaic vanity, since God's law shows the highest piety, and everything else is husks, even filth. 25a. It is diabolical pride that impels them to preach superabundant piety. 25b.

They are vain hypocrites in their vain boastings. 25c.

b. The Romanist teach that these are works of the **"evangelical counsels,"** as they call them.

But the Gospel does not advise concerning garments, meat and property, which are human traditions and do not justify; and if they are presented as such, are doctrines of the devils. 26.

But the kingdom of God is righteousness and life in the heart, which Paul demands. 27.

c. The Romanists say: "The holy Scriptures say that monasticism earns eternal life, and **Christ has promised** it to the brethren." 28.

This is boldfaced falsehood. **Where?** For at that time no one knew of them; they are a new thing. 29.

They **dishonor Christ** by ascribing such a promise to him. 30. For faith, not monasticism, obtains life freely. 31. It is granted for Christ's sake to those who rely upon Christ, and not upon their works. (*cf.* Bernard) 32-33.

By doing so they suppress the Gospel and worship their own hoods and sell the superfluous part. 35.

d. The Romanists now modify their assertion and say: "Monasticism is a **state** in which to acquire **perfection.**" If we follow this, then monasticism is no more perfect than a farmer's life, or a miner's; for in these also Christian perfection can be acquired in the fear of God, by faith, etc. 36-37. Anthony and others make all kinds of life of equal value. 38.

But though our opponents modify their speech, they **mean the same thing** held before, for they sell merits; they say monks live more nearly according to the gospel. 39.

e. They quote Matth. 19:29; but here Christ speaks not of works performed to merit life; that would be dishonor to Christ.

There are **two kinds of forsaking** of wife and children: first, by leaving them without divine command; second, by leaving them by compulsion — that is for the gospel's sake, which is here approved. 41-42. Many leave their families to get a good living; this is hypocrisy. 43-44.

f. They quote Matth. 19:21; but evangelical **abandonment of property** consists in not trusting in it. 45-46. Hence their way is merely a human tradition, and they mutilate the text. 47-50.

3. Chastity is vowed; hence **must be held.**

But vows cannot remove the law of nature, nor that of the Holy Ghost (See above). 51-52.

4. Those who are now in the monasteries may go free, since there are the godless ceremonies (mass, worship of saints), which are put in the place of Christ; these are used for gain; they do not seek righteousness through repentance and faith. 53-54.

The services of lessons could be tolerated if intended for instruction; but they pretend that these are services of God. 55-56a. Hence good men should be set free from the obligation to this kind of life. 56.

5. The **canons release many** ensnared by youth, compulsion, etc. 57.

**The Romanist proofs.**

1. The **Nazarites** made vows.
   But they did not take the vows with the purpose of meriting salvation, as the Roman monks do. The Nazarite vow was a testimony before men, not a work of human merit. It was an *adiaphoron,* and so monastic life must not be compared to it. 58.
2. The **Rechabites** had no possessions, etc.
   But how does their real poverty compare with the voluptuous monatic life of today? 59. This was a mark to distinguish them from other heathens. 60-63.
3. 1 Tim. 5:11 **widows** are mentioned.
   But their vows, if there were any, were quite different. 65. They had to be sixty years old; hence all younger females would be free. 66. Paul condemns them not for breaking vows, but for abandoning their Christianity. 67-68.

**Conclusion.**

We have reviewed their arguments for the sake of the godly, and have shown that the Romanist view is Pharisaic. Holy men that have been monks despised all their works. 69-70.

## Art. XXVIII. Of Ecclesiastical Power.

The Confutation multiplies words concerning **privileges and immunities;** but we do not criticise political ordinances and gifts of princes, but other things. 1-2.

The opponents guard their own dignities and wealth, but neglect the condition of the churches.

They **admit all kinds** of persons to the priesthood. They impose intolerable burdens, and insist more upon observing their traditions than the gospel. They **spill the blood** of men who do not act contrary to God's command. 4-5.

### I. Our Doctrine.

They **do not reply** to our arguments, but simply assert that bishops and rulers, may judge, and may frame laws to obtain eternal life. 6.

1. We emphasize the facts; viz., remission of sins is free for Christ's sake through faith; human traditions are useless for justification before God. 7.
   Hence the bishops have no right to frame such meritorious traditions to burden conscience. 8-10.
   But the Romanists condemn this, and declare that they conduce to eternal life. But how so? 9-10. Since the Gospel teaches the opposite, they can never prove their contention.
2. We have already shown what powers the Gospel gives to bishops.
   A bishop has the **power of the Word** and the Sacraments and of jurisdiction. This power is not tyrannical nor regal, but is regulated by law. 12-13. Hence the bishops cannot institute new services. 14.
3. We have shown **how far lawful traditions** may be framed for the sake of order and decency. 15a.
   These must not ensnare Christians, or compel them (Gal. 5:1), but must be left free, and are not necessary to salvation. 15b.
   The apostles ordained many things which have been changed in time, but they did not declare them to be necessary. 16. Hence they are only of secondary value to avoid scandals. 17.

**II. Arguments of the opponents.**

1. Luke 10:6.
   But this does not speak in favor of traditions, but against them. It is not an unqualified power, but security for a trust. Christ assures us that his Word delivered by men is efficacious. 18.
   Hence this is for us, not against us, but against them.
2. Heb. 13:17.
   This exacts obedience to the gospel as taught by bishops. If they teach contrary to it, obedience is forbidden. 20.
3. Matth. 23:3.
   But we are also commanded to obey God and not men. Hence we disobey the bishops when they issue wicked commandments. 21.
4. Finally the Romanists **refer to public scandals and commotions,** and try to make us responsible for them. 22.

(1) But all scandals taken together **do not counterbalance** the one article of remission brought to light by Luther. 23-24.
(2) We do not desire to deny the truth and cannot condemn it. All who do so must give account to God. 25.
(3) Consider the scandals on the side of the Romanists. 26.

**Conclusion of the Apology.**

We have **presented our side,** and now leave the question whether we have successfully refused the *Confutatio* to the decision of godly men. 27.

## VI. THE SMALKALD ARTICLES WITH THE "APPENDIX" FROM MELANCHTHON.

### A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

**Literature:** In addition to the works of Luther (Erl. Ed.) and the Corpus Reformatorum we mention **Koellner's** *Symbolik;* **Schaff,** *Creeds of Christendom,* I. (4th ed., 1899. New York and London); **Kolde's** *Historische Einleitung* (see under Augsb. Conf.); **K. Zangemeister,** *Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel* vom Jahre 1537 (Heidelberg, 1883); **P. Tschackert,** *Entstehung* der reformierten und lutherischen Kirchenlehre. Goettingen, 1910. See also **Kolde's** article in the *Realencyclopaedia* (*R. E.* cf. Schaff-Herzog).

**1. The occasion for new Articles of Faith.** Charles V had finally succeeded in making Pope Paul III willing to call the council which he (the emperor) promised when the Augsburg diet was adjourned (1530). It was to be opened on May 8th, 1537, at Mantua in Italy.[466] The Protestants were invited to participate. Should they accept the invitation? Could they do it without signifying by their participation that they recognized the Pope as the head of the Church? After considerable discussion of this question, the Elector of Saxony (now John Frederick) followed the counsel of

[466] Koellner, *Symbolik* I, 440.

his Wittenberg theologians, especially Melanchthon,[467] and decided that he would go. Now again, as at the time of the Augsburg diet, articles of doctrine were desired.[468]

**2. Luther was commissioned.** The Elector wanted Luther to write articles of faith, for which he would be willing to die and for which he would be responsible at the judgment seat of Christ. He also wanted him to indicate whether there were doctrines, held by the Lutherans, in which concessions might be made.[469] And the Elector desired to know whether the rest of the Wittenberg theologians and others, identified with the Lutheran cause, such as Amsdorf, Spalatin, Agricola, who should be summoned to Wittenberg, were in agreement with Luther on such articles or not.[470] Luther must have completed his work about the end of the year 1536, because then it was when

**3. The Articles were signed.** Spalatin made a clean copy of what Luther had written, and this copy, then, was signed by Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cru-

---

[467] Kolde, *Einleitung*, p. XLIII.

[468] Tschackert, *Entstehung der reformierten und lutherischen Kirchenlehre*, p. 296.

[469] *Corp. Ref.* III, 139 f.

[470] The question might here be asked: Why was it not sufficient simply to use the Augsburg Confession? Answering this, let us say: The A. C. contained much that was not disputed by Rome, and even the points of difference were there stated with the greatest moderation possible, yea in such a way that the rejection of the Roman error sometimes hardly appears (for instance in Art. X). Such course had been necessary at Augsburg. But now the time had come when the differences between the new Church and Rome were to be fearlessly expressed and to be put into the fullest light. For this purpose a form different from that of the Augsburg Confession was necessary. It was to be more controversial than the Augustana which presents a connected exposition of the leading principles of Lutheranism. To create such documents, the firm Luther was more fitted than the mild Melanchthon. Compare Koellner I, 441.

ciger, Melanchthon, Spalatin, Amsdorf and Agricola. Melanchthon gave his signature with the following remark: "I, Philip Melanchthon, approve the above articles as right and Christian. But of the Pope, I hold that if he would allow the Gospel, for the sake of the peace and general unity of Christians, who are now under him, and may be under him hereafter, the superiority over bishops, which he has in other respects, could be allowed to him, according to human right, also by us.[471] The Elector was enthusiastic over the contents of the articles and so expressed himself to Luther in a letter of January 7th; but he was displeased with Melanchthon's remark on the Pope. Since "we once have been freed through God from the Babylonian captivity" it would be tempting God if we should again submit ourselves to such danger.[472]

*Remark 1.* The original draft of Luther's own pen, which shows by the crossing out of words and numerous corrections how the author wrote and thought, has been preserved in the library of Heidelberg university. It has been published in facsimile by the librarian, Dr. Karl Zangemeister under the title: *"Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel vom Jahre 1537. Nach Dr. Martin Luthers Autograph."* The copy, made by Spalatin, which received the signatures, is preserved in the Weimar archives.

*Remark 2.* Luther's original and Spalatin's copy are both in the German language. A translation into Latin, which the elector had desired[473] was not made at that time.[474]

**4. Luther's Articles not Officially Adopted at Smalcald.** A convention of Lutherans was held at

---

[471] Jacobs, *Book of Concord* (people's edition) p. 336 (326).

[472] For the full text of the letter of the Elector see Kolde, *Analecta Lutherana,* p. 285 ff. Extracts in Tschackert, *Entstehung,* etc. p. 298, in Hauck, *R. E.* XVII, 642, and in Kolde, *Einleitung,* p. XLV.

[473] *Corp. Ref.* III, 140.

[474] Compare the ninth paragraph of this Treatise; also Kolde, *Einleitung,* p. LII.

Smalcald in February, 1537. Here the princes and their theologians assembled for the purpose of discussing whether they should attend the council at Mantua, and if deciding to do so, to make preparations for the same. It was the elector's wish that here the articles of Luther should be adopted by the whole convention as another confessional document of the Lutheran Church. But his plan did not work. It was thwarted by an agitation of Melanchthon. He did not like the article on the Lord's Supper. There it reads: "We hold that bread and wine in the Supper are the true body and blood of Christ, and are given and received not only by the godly, but also by wicked Christians."[475] This was to Melanchthon's mind a deviation from the Wittenberg Concord.[476] And indeed, a comparison with Luther's autograph edition (by Zangemeister) shows that Luther had first written in entire consonance with the Wittenberg Concord: "that under bread and wine there be the true body and blood of Christ in the Supper". But this he crossed out and wrote: "that bread and wine in the Supper are the true body and blood of Christ". Melanchthon claimed to know that this was due to an influence of Bugenhagen upon Luther.[477] Such was the report of Melanchthon to Philip of Hessia on the first day of his arrival at Smalcald, and from what we know of the aims of the Landgrave we can imagine that it was not difficult to persuade him that the best

---

[475] Book of Concord, p. 330 (VI, I).

[476] The agreement of 1536 between Luther and the South German cities. Compare Kurtz, *Church History*, § 133, 8, or Book of Concord, p. 603.

[477] *Und solchs habe geursachet Pommeranus; denn der sei ein heftiger Mann und ein grober Pommer.* So we read in *Politsche Korrespondenz der Stadt Strassburg im Zeitalter der Reformation,* vol. II, by Winckelmann, Strassburg 1887, p. 430.

course to take here would be to say: We have accepted the Augsburg Confession and the Wittenberg Concord and with that we must remain.[478] Luther was sick and could not be present in the session, when the matter was discussed. The princes, then, agreed in the main with Philip of Hessia, to remain with the Augsburg Confession and the Wittenberg Concord. So, then, Luther's articles were not officially adopted. Another reason, of course, besides the objection to Luther's theology on the part of some, may be sought in the agreement which was reached by the convention, namely to decline the invitation to the council. So there seemed to be no need of a new Confession at this time.[479]

**5. What was adopted at Smalcald?**

a. The princes agreed that two things should be done: (1) The theologians should once more *go over the Augsburg Confession* and establish it with new arguments from Scripture and the Fathers in such a way that there be no conflict with the Wittenberg Concord. (2) *Something special should be drawn up with regard to the papacy,* because this had been left undone at Augsburg for the purpose of not displeasing the emperor.[480] The first of these instructions to the theolo-

[478] Hauck, *R. E.* XVII, 643. Kolde, *Einleitung,* p. XLVII. Kolde, *Zur Geschichte der Schmalkaldischen Artikel* in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken,* 1894, p. 157 ff.

[479] Tschackert, *Entstehung,* p. 301. Koellner I, 445, 461.

[480] Kolde, *Analecta Lutherana,* p. 297; *Einleitung,* p. XLVIII. We are told that by not adopting Luther's articles a conflict on the Lord's Supper, which threatened, was avoided. We must remember that the representatives of the South German cities (Strassburg, Ulm et al.), supported by Philip of Hessia, were always suspicious of Luther's realism in the doctrine of the Supper, as also Luther and his friends (Bugenhagen, Amsdorf) were suspicious of the spiritualism of the South Germans under the lead of Bucer. Melanchthon used his diplomacy to prevent an outbreak of the differences by urging through the Landgrave the course that was here taken. Compare the different reports in *Corp. Ref.* III, 292, 295, 298, 370 ff.

gians could not be carried out at this convention, because of lack of books and time.[481] But Melanchthon undertook the second, and wrote in Latin his *"Tractatus de potestate et primatu papae"*, (on the power and the primacy of the pope) which he finished February 17th.[482] He wrote sharply against the papacy, from a position which was the exact opposite of the reservation with which he had signed Luther's articles (see 3 above). The only explanation possible is that the sentiment at the convention, among princes and theologians, was exceedingly anti-papal.

b. Melanchthon's *Tractatus* which we have in the Book of Concord as an **"Appendix" to the Smalcald Articles** of Luther[483] is composed of two parts. Part I (pp. 338-348) treats of the Pope, and Part II (pp. 348-352) of the power and jurisdiction of bishops.

Melanchthon rejects, in the *first part*, the "divine right" of the superiority of the pope over all bishops and pastors; also the pope's so-called "divine right" of the two swords, i. e., his unconditional power in spiritual and worldly things; and the doctrine that the belief in this right is necessary for salvation. All these claims are "false, godless, tyrannical and pernicious to the Church" (§§ 1-6). That they are without foundation is proved from the Scriptures (7-11), and from the ancient history of the Church (12-21); Scriptural passages cited to the contrary, are explained (22-30).

The *second part* on the power and jurisdiction of bishops was especially practical, because the question of the Lutherans was everywhere: What is our rela-

---

[481] *Corp. Ref.* III, 267.
[482] *Corp. Ref.* III, 267.
[483] See Book of Concord, p. 338.

tion to the bishops who claim jurisdiction over us? Melanchthon does not reject an *episcopacy* as long as it does not claim to be of divine right, but says that, from the standpoint of divine right, there is no difference between bishops and pastors; that, therefore, an *ordination* by a pastor in his Church is just as valid as that by a bishop. When, therefore, the regular bishops prosecute the Gospel and refuse to ordain proper ministers, then any Church has the right to ordain its own ministers. For wherever there is the Church there is also right and duty to preach the Gospel. Yet ordination is no Sacrament, but a solemn public confirmation of the one who has been called to the ministry. *Jurisdiction* also needs to undergo a thorough reformation. Until the present the bishops have exercised it in such a way that it has become an unbearable tyranny. According to Scripture it is the pastors that have the authority to excommunicate those living in manifest sins. This authority which the bishops have usurped must be returned to them again, so that they may use it for the betterment of morals and for the honor of God (§§ 74-76). The settlement of matrimonial troubles, also claimed by the bishops, belong before the forum of the secular government (77-78). Since, then, bishops, in their devotion to the Pope, defend godless doctrines and services, refuse to ordain godly teachers, and aid the cruelty of the Pope, have wrested the jurisdiction from the pastors, using it tyrannically and for their own profit and impose unjust laws in matrimonial cases, they should not be recognized by the churches as bishops (79). They may be in possession of a large income, but they cannot enjoy this with a good conscience ("the benefice is given because of the office"). They defraud the Church which

has need of these means for supporting ministers, for educating learned men, for making provisions to care for the poor and to regulate matrimonial affairs (80-82).[484]

This writing of Melanchthon is "a theological masterpiece for his age". (Schaff). Here we have "for the first time a doctrine of the papacy and of the authority in the Church, that is founded upon Scripture and history" (Tschackert). It was accepted by the princes here at Smalcald, and on the 23rd of February they gave their signature to this *Tractatus* as also again to the Augsburg Confession and to the Apology.[485]

**6. What Was Done at Smalcald with Luther's Articles?** They did not receive the official signature of the princes, as we have seen (4). Yet it was desired on the part of many that, before leaving this convention, the theologians should express their agreement with Luther by signing his articles. The Elector, John Frederick, was especially interested in this.[486] It was agreed that on February the 18th, the articles should be read in a meeting of theologians. But this was not done because of Luther's sickness. Finally Bugenhagen called the theologians together, and he moved that they should subscribe to Luther's articles. But there was opposition especially on the part of the South German theologians and the Hessians (Bucer of Strassburg, Blaurer of Constance, Lycosthenes of Augsburg and Melander of Hessia). Nevertheless, while the theologians did not as a body adopt the articles, they almost all signed privately.[487]

---

[484] Tschackert, *Entstehung*, etc., p. 300.
[485] *Corp. Ref.* III, 271, 286, 288.
[486] Compare Koellner I, 477, note 4.
[487] As to the names see Book of Concord, p. 336.

**7. Luther Publishes His Articles.** So he did (1538) under the title: "Articles of Christian Doctrine, which Were to Have Been Presented on Our Part to the Council, if Any Had Been Assembled at Mantua or Elsewhere, Indicating What We Could Receive or Grant, And What We Could Not."[488] If we compare this first publication of the articles with Zangemeister's edition of Luther's original then we will notice that Luther made many *changes and additions.*[488a] The introduction is new, and certain paragraphs have been amplified, stronger arguments have been added. So in the articles of the Mass, of the Invocation of the Saints, of the False Repentance of the Papacy, and of Confession.[489]

Yet while Luther felt free to make these changes, we must not think that he by so doing intended to sacrifice the official character of these articles, for in his introduction we read the following: "I have accordingly collected these articles and presented them to our side. *They have also been accepted and unanimously confessed by those with us,* and it has been resolved that in case the Pope, with his adherents, should ever be so bold as seriously and in good faith, without lying and cheating, to hold a truly Christian council (as indeed he would be in duty bound to do) *they would be publicly*

---

[488] Erl. Ed. XXV, 163 ff. *Corp. Ref.* IV, 292. Neudecker, *Urkunden der Reformationszeit* (1863), p. 689.

[488a] In 1543 and 1545 Luther issued new editions with slight changes.

[489] This article (of Confession) is of special significance. It is here where we find the words: "Just so our enthusiasts at the present day condemn the outward word, and nevertheless they themselves are not silent, but they fill the world with their pratings and writings, as though indeed the Spirit were unable to come through the writings and spoken word of the Apostles, but he must come through their writings and words". Book of Concord, p. 332 (5. 6).

*presented, and express the Confession of our faith.*[490] These words show that Luther regarded his articles as official. Of course, his changes were not of such a character that the substance of doctrine was affected. As long as Melanchthon, in changing the form of the Confession, did not introduce alterations of doctrinal significance we do not censure him. To-day we feel differently with regard to any changing of an official document.

But how could Luther express himself as he does in his introduction? We have learned that his articles were not formally or officially adopted at the convention (see above 6). The only possible explanation seems to be that Luther, because of his sickness and perhaps because his friends hesitated to tell him, was not quite informed of what actually had been done with his articles at Smalcald.

**8. Luther's Articles Classified Among the Symbolical Writings of the Lutheran Church.** Luther's articles were more and more appreciated, while Melanchthon's Tractatus fell into the background. This may be accounted for by the frequent publication of Luther's articles, by the words of introduction as quoted above, and by the gradually developing opposition to Melanchthonianism. The Day of the Princes at Naumburg of 1561 contributed much towards calling the attention of the true Lutherans to the symbolical value of the Smalcald Articles.[491] They were first admitted into the *Corpus Doctrinae* of Brunswick, and soon they passed over into most of the *Corpora Doctrinae* of that

---

[490] Book of Concord, p. 307 (2).

[491] Compare Calinich, *Der Naumburger Fuerstentag*, p. 18 ff. Kawerau in Hauck, *R. E.* XIII, 661 ff. G. Plitt, *De Auctoritate*, etc. 53 ff.

day.[492] Then they were, of course, taken into the Book of Concord in 1580.

**9. The Text of Luther's Articles as we Have it in the Book of Concord.** The *German* text was not taken from the copy of Spalatin (now in the archives of Weimar, see above 3, remark 2) which had received the signatures of the theologians at Wittenberg and Smalcald, but it was prepared on the basis of Luther's editions for print. The *Latin* text of the Book of Concord is a poor translation from the German, probably made by Selnecker.

**10. The History of Melanchthon's Tractatus.** In 1540 it was published in the language in which it had been written (Latin) at Strassburg.[493] A German translation, prepared by Veit Dietrich, was published the following year (1541) at Nuremberg. In 1553 Joh. Stolz and Joh. Aurifaber published the Smalcald Articles and added Melanchthon's *Tractatus* (in Veit Dietrich's German translation) as an "Appendix" to the articles. They were already in ignorance about Melanchthon's authorship, because they published it under the title: *"Von der Gewalt und Obrigkeit das Papsts, durch die Gelehrten zusammengezogen.* Schmalkalden 1537." In the same misleading way we have it in the Book of Concord: "Of the power and primacy of the Pope. Treatise written by the theologians assembled at Smalcald in the year MDXXXVII."[494] And since it was forgotten that Melanchthon had written these articles in Latin, the Book of Concord, when it first appeared in 1580, incorporated a translation from German into Latin. The

---

[492] Kawerau in Hauck *R. E.* IV, 293.
[493] *Corp. Ref.* XXIII, 667. 722.
[494] Book of Concord, p. 338 (328).

edition of 1584, finally, replaced it by Melanchthon's original. But the old misleading title was retained: "Tractatus per theologos Schmalcaldiae congregatos conscriptus."[495] This error prevailed nearly two hundred years, until the careful researches of Bertram dispelled it.

### B. CONTENTS OF THE SMALCALD ARTICLES.

By Geo. J. Fritschel.

## Luther's Preface.

(This preface was added when Luther published the articles.)

**For the council** (convoked by Pope Paul III. for the year 1536) at Mantua Luther had composed the following statement of his doctrine. 1-3. It is now **published as a testimony** of what he holds to be true and will so hold to his death. 4.

**Even now "false brethren" misrepresent** Luther's doctrine. What will be done after his death? Against all misrepresentations he gives this synopsis of his doctrine. 4-9.

A **council should be held** to improve the conditions of the Churches and to reform the administration of church affairs; this will give plenty work, for a council. 10-14. But the best solution would be Christ's return for His council (judgment day). God help us! 15.

## Part First.

There is **no difference** between us and the Roman confessions concerning Theology and Christology.

## Part Second.

Concerning Soteriology the **differences** are **fundamental** and immense. The one fundamental doctrine of the Scriptures is: **Christ ALONE is the atonement** for the sins of the whole world, and **all sinners** are **to be justified through faith** in Christ alone, not through works, etc. 1-4.

---

[495] *R. E.* XVII, 645. Kolde, *Einleitung*, p. LII. Schaff, Creeds I, 257.

Let heaven and earth perish, **we cannot yield one point of this doctrine.** Hence arises all our opposition to Pope, the devil and the world.

**Note:** This doctrine is then applied as the standard to the more eminent Roman soteriological institutions: (1) Mass, (2) Monasticism, (3) Papacy.

**(1) The Mass. (Art. II.)**

The **Roman doctrine** is: Mass frees man from sins here and in purgatory. We reply: Such doctrine **overthrows the fundamental article;** hence we absolutely reject it. 1.

We might also produce many arguments against it. 2-24.

The Invocation of Saints is an anti-Christian abuse, since it destroys the true knowledge of Christ. It is true that the angels in heaven, saints on earth (and perhaps in heaven), pray for us; but this does not prove that we should serve, invoke or adore them. 25-29.

**(2) Monasticism. (Art. III.)**

Monasteries should be **again made educational institutions,** or should be closed if they are to work a part of salvation. 1-2.

**(3) Papacy. (Art. IV.)**

The Pope is by divine right bishop (pastor) of Rome. All other prerogatives were given to him by men. 1-3. But he claims **by divine right** to be Lord of all bishops, even of kings. In his official bulls he claims no one can be saved unless this is conceded. This means: "Although you believe in Christ, you cannot be saved unless you submit to me." 4-5. Yet the Holy Christian Church can exist and has existed without him. Hence the papacy should be abolished. 6.

Recognition of the papacy as a human institution will not guarantee the unity of the Church. Any part might and would elect their own popes. The best way to unify the Church is: Let all be united by doctrine, faith, Sacraments, prayers, and works of charity under the one Head, Christ. 7-9.

By claiming divine supremacy over the Church he reveals himself **as the very Antichrist.** As little as we recognize the devil as the head of the church, so little will we recognize the Pope, his apostle. 10-15.

**(Conclusion).** Of these articles, the council will concede none to us. Hence we must be ready to stand before the Pope in the council in the spirit of the prophet, and say: "The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan"! 16

## Part Third.

In this section we have a short presentation of the Lutheran way of salvation and church organization for discussion and for more detailed study.

### I. Of Sin.

Original sin is the result of Adam's disobedience. **All men** now are sinners, and subject to death and the devil. 1.

The **fruits** and effects of this original sin are the evil deeds forbidden in the Ten Commandments. The depth of this corruption of nature can only be learned from revelation. 2-3. (Rejection of the scholastic doctrine. 4-11.)

### II and III. Of the Law and Repentance.

1. The **civil purpose** of the Law was to restrain men by threats and rewards. But the wicked are, (a) either rendered worse (obeying unwillingly, or breaking it willingly), or (b) become false saints and hypocrites. 1-3.

2. The **real purpose** of the Law is to reveal original sin and its fruits. 4. It shows the utter corruption of human nature. This produces despair, humiliation, sorrow, grief (contrition), so that man does not know where to turn. Thus the Law is God's thunderbolt by which he shatters manifest sinners as well as false saints into one mass, and declares all unrighteous. 1-2. This true sorrow of the heart and sense of death is the beginning of true repentance (or of conversion). 3.

3. Lest men perish in such grief the consolation and promise of the Gospel is added. It is offered in many ways. It must be believed. 4-9.

Luther then criticises the Roman doctrine of repentance (contrition, confession, satisfaction), and shows what true contrition, confession and satisfaction are. 5-45.

### IV-VIII. The Gospel and Its Manifold Ways of Administration.

God in his superabundant grace gives us help against sin in **more than one way,** viz.: through the spoken Word (which

preaches forgiveness to the whole world), through Baptism, the Sacrament of the Altar, the power of the keys (the spoken word of absolution), and through mutual consolation.

*Baptism*

is God's Word in the water, as Augustine defines the Sacraments. Also children should be baptized, for redemption in Christ is promised to them. The Church should therefore administer it to them. 1-4.

*The Sacrament of the Altar.*

Here we have both bread and wine, and also the true body and blood of Christ. Both are received by the godly and ungodly. Also the wine belongs to all. We reject the sophistic doctrine of concomitance and transubstantiation. 1-5.

*The Keys*

are an office and power given by Christ to bind the sinners and to loose all sins, gross and subtle, known and unknown. 1-3.

*The Absolution*

is also a consolation and an aid against sin, and should by no means be abolished, especially on account of timid souls and the youth. Enumeration of sins is not required. But private absolution should be esteemed of practical value, like other offices of the church. 1-2.

*The Spoken Word*

is God's means by which he bestows the Spirit. The enthusiasts imagine other ways. Papacy is enthusiastic, since it claims revelation outside of and against the Word. All men incline to enthusiasm. But God does not deal with us otherwise. 3-12.

IX-XV. Church Institutions.

*Excommunication.*

The **greater ban** (including civil penalties) is a civil procedure and does not concern ministers. The **lesser** is the prohibition against manifest and obstinate sinners, against partaking in the communion or other church affairs until they reform.

*Bishops and the Call.*

We would permit true bishops also in future to ordain and confirm for the sake of love and unity. They would have to dispense with unchristian absurdities. We reject their demands of being worldly lords and princes. As they refuse to ordain ministers for us, we will ordain them ourselves. 1-3.

*Marriage of Priests.*

This is not forbidden by God; hence it is lawful. St. Paul calls the law of celibacy an institution of the devils. 1-3.

*The Church.*

The papists claim to be THE Church. But the Church is the communion of saints. Holiness does not consist in garments or ceremonies, but in true faith in God's Word. 1-3.

*Of the Relation of Good Works and Faith.*

For the sake of Christ we receive a new heart and God accounts us just and forgives our sins. Good works follow from this faith. Even these works are not perfect, but God does not consider their imperfection. Faith that does not produce good works proves itself false. 1-3.

*Monastic Vows.*

These should be abolished since they are in conflict with the doctrine of justification. 1-3.

*Human Traditions.*

Such traditions, intended to attain forgiveness, are unchristian, and their omission is no sin. Besides this is a bundle of impostures, as *e. g.*, the Roman dedication of churches, baptism of bells, consecration of candles, etc. 1-2. 4-5.[496]

*Conclusion of the whole.*

These are the articles on which I stand; and if God so will, I shall die on them. And I do not know how to change or to concede anything in them. If any one else will make concessions, he will do so at his own risk. 3.

[496] Sections 4 and 5 were added at the lower margin after Luther laid his draft before his associates. They should precede the conclusion in section 3, which formed the end of Luther's articles.

## VII. THE SMALL CATECHISM.

### HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOTH CATECHISMS.

**Literature:** **Luther's** Works. **J. Koestlin,** *Martin Luther* (5th ed. by G. Kawerau), 2 vol. Berlin, 1903. **E. Koellner,** *Symbolik.* Hamburg, 1837. **K. F. Th. Schneider,** *Dr. Martin Luther's Kleiner Katechismus;* nach den Originalausgaben kritisch bearbeitet. Berlin, 1853. **Th. Harnack,** *Der Kleine Katechismus Dr. Martin Luthers in seiner Urgestalt.* Stuttgart, 1856. **C. Moenckeberg,** *Die erste Ausgabe von Luther's Kleinem Catechismus* (2d ed.). Hamburg, 1868. **G. v. Zezschwitz,** *System der christlich-kirchlichen Katechetik,* II, 1 (2d ed.). Leipzig, 1872. **Calinich,** on Small and Large Catechism. Leipzig, 1882. 94. **F. Cohrs** in *Realencyclopaedie (R. E.),* cf. Schaff-Herzog. **Th. Kolde,** *Historische Einleitung* (as sub Augsburg Confession). **Schaff,** *Creeds of Christendom* I. p. 245 ff. **M. Reu,** *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts zwischen 1530 und 1600* (6 volumes), 1904-17.

We cannot here discuss the means and methods of catechetical instruction from the time of the ancient Church up to the time of the Reformation. On this subject there are elaborate works. See the articles in the Encyclopedias. We shall here confine ourselves to the Catechisms of Luther, and we shall also avoid going too much into details in matters that belong to Catechetics.

**1. Preparatory Steps** for the creation of Luther's Catechisms, unconsciously taken, may be seen in **sermons** which Luther delivered at Wittenberg as early as 1516 and 17 on the *Decalogue* and the *Lord's Prayer.* The interpretation of the Ten Commandments was published (1518).[497] It was followed with a **"Brief advice** of how to make confession"[498] and with an explanation of the

[497] To be found in *Luther's Works, Erl. Ed.* 36, 146 ff.; *Weim. Ed.* 1, 248.

[498] *Weim. Ed.,* 2, 57 ff.; *Erl. Ed.* 21, 245 ff.

Lord's Prayer for Laymen.[499] In the year of 1520 Luther re-wrote these parts and published them together with another manuscript on the Creed under the title **"Brief Form** of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer".[500] The publication of this book was a great step forward, preparatory to the creation of Luther's Catechisms.

**2. Luther's Matured intention to write a Catechism.** The great Reformer was more and more impressed with the urgent need of a guide for the religious instruction of the young.[501] Special arrangements were made in Wittenberg for the teaching of the children[502] Luther preached again on the Catechism after his return from the Wartburg and in 1522 he republished under the title "A Prayer book of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer" the above mentioned "Brief Form", etc.[503] The enthusiasts at Wittenberg, during the absence of Luther, had done away with the confessional service before communion; this Luther reinstituted with the demand that an examination as to

---

[499] *Weim. Ed.* 2, 74 ff., cf. *Erl. Ed.* 21, 159 ff.; also 45, 204.

[500] *Weim. Ed.* 7, 195 ff.; *Erl. Ed.* 22, 1. The form was not that of questions and answers. It is highly significant that Luther put as a heading over the second part the one word "Jesus". (See Th. Kaftan, *Auslegung des luth. Katechismus,* 3rd ed., *Schleswig,* 1901, p. 7.) It should not be overlooked that the impulse for Luther's work so far was chiefly to prepare his parishioners for a worthy reception of the Holy Communion. On the three parts which he published in one book he expressed himself as follows: "Three things are needful for a man to know how he shall be saved; *first* that he know what he shall do and not do; *second,* when he sees that in his own strength he cannot do what he should do, nor desist from doing what he should not do that he now know where to flee for help; *thirdly* also how to seek this help." See the fuller quotation also in Meusel. *Kirchl. Handlexikon,* 1st ed. III, 717 and in Kolde, *Hist. Einl.,* 15.

[501] *Weim. Ed.* 1, 450, 494; *Op. lat.* 12, 93, 170; cf. *Erl. Ed.* 22, 173.

[502] *R. E.* X, 131 (28).

[503] For a detailed description of the book in this new revised form see Koestlin-Kawerau I, 547 f.

worthiness for the receiving of the Sacrament should take place. This led him to publish **brief questions on the Lord's Supper** (extracts from a sermon on the subject).[504] More and more the view of the Reformer becomes clarified as to **the materials** that should be covered by a guide such as he was thinking of.[505] It was about 1525 when Luther became acquainted with the **"Kinderfragen"** of the Bohemian Brethren, which further stimulated him for writing a Catechism. In a letter of February 2nd, 1525, we hear that he was definitely planning to write a "Catechism".[506] Soon there appeared in Low German a **"Small Book for the Laity and Children",** which had also a fourth and fifth part on the Sacraments.[507] The **author** is believed to be Bugenhagen, the close friend of Luther. Other Catechisms are published, and more and more the form of questions and answers is employed. But **Luther did not abandon the plan of writing a Catechism himself.** Evidence of his unabated intention we find in the "German Mass" of 1525, where he described how such a Catechism should

---

[504] Cf. Th. Brieger, Die angebliche Marburger Kirchenordnung (p. 44). Gotha, 1881.

[505] The **name "Catechism"** *did not yet characterize an instruction in the form of questions and answers.* In the old Church the term signifies the dramatic action of a teacher who was speaking in questions and answers. Luther, at this time, did not especially aim at a form in questions and answers; what he was interested in was the "Brief Form", as also the ancient Church, for purposes of instruction, had been aiming at a *verbum abbreviation,* a condensed material. The Waldensians called their Catechisms *"the small questions";* the Bohemians theirs *"Die Kinderfragen".* Other names were *"Laienbiblin", "Enchiridion", "Buechlein fuer die Laien und Kinder".* F. Cohrs, in *R. E. X.* 139 (45.)

[506] So he wrote to his friend N. Hausmann at Zwickau. See Enders, *Briefwechsel,* 5, 115.

[507] The text is found in F. Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion* I (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica XX*) 169 ff., 200 ff.

be as to form and contents.[508] He was *further moved* to undertake the work by the lamentable state of religious ignorance of the people and even the priests, which he found out during his visitations of the churches in Saxony (1527-29).[509] In 1528 (May, September and December) he again preached on Catechism materials. Before we proceed to the next section of our discourse let us fix this fact in our mind that **a twofold aim stands before the eyes of Luther:** he sees the need of a Catechism for children, but he also feels that the pastors need a help for interpreting a Small Catechism and to preach on its materials.[510]

**3. Luther undertakes the work.** On January 15th, 1529, we find him at work.[511] **Which appeared first** — the Large or the Small Catechism? Since the work of Schneider (mentioned under "Literature") it *was generally believed* that Luther first published the Large and then the Small Catechism. This traditional view has been modified a little by investigations of Kawerau

---

[508] See the pertinent passages quoted by Kolde in *Hist. Einleitung*, p. 57.

[509] In the Preface to his Small Catechism he wrote as follows: "The deplorable condition in which I found religious affairs during a recent visitation of the congregations has impelled me to publish this Catechism, a statement of the Christian doctrine, after having prepared it in very brief and simple terms. Alas! what misery I beheld! The people, especially those who live in the villages, seem to have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and many of the pastors are ignorant and incompetent teachers. And, nevertheless, they all maintain that they are Christians, that they have been baptized and that they have received the Lord's Supper. Yet they cannot recite the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments; they live as if they were irrational creatures, and now that the Gospel has come to them, they grossly abuse their Christian liberty." (Book of Concord, p. 359.)

[510] Cf. *R. E.* X, 132; also *Corp. Ref.* XXVI, 10 ff. and 52 ff.

[511] So we know from his letter to M. Goerlitz in Brunswick. Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, 7, 43.

and Buchwald.[512] The *situation was this:* Luther **began** his work by writing the *Large Catechism* on the basis of the above mentioned sermons of 1528. It was intended as a model for sermonizing on the subject. But while he was composing this Large Catechism and before finishing it he wrote and **published the Small Catechism in the form of two series of tables** to be hung upon the wall for instruction of the young by their fathers. The *first series* of these tables was finished already on the 20th of January, it covered the Decalogue, Creed and Lord's Prayer; *the second series,* covering what we now call the fourth and fifth parts, appeared the middle of March 1529.[513] It was in April, 1529, when the **Large Catechism was finished and published.** Soon after (May 16th), Luther published the above mentioned tables (the Small Catechism) in book form.

**4. Editions of the Small Catechism and its final form.** We know to-day one of 1529,[514] of 1531, of 1537,

---

[512] Article of G. Kawerau in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* 1894, No. 11; G. Buchwald, *Die Entstehung der Katechismen Luther's und die Grundlage des Grossen Katechismus.* Leipzig, 1894.

[513] Th. Kaftan, *ut supra,* p. 9; *R. E.* X, 132, (57); 133 (20); Kolde, *ut supra,* 59. The division into two separate series of Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer on the one hand, and the Sacraments with Confession on the other should not be overlooked. Luther looked upon the first three parts as the real body of the Catechism and regarded the treatment of the last two parts as a kind of an annex. Compare Luther himself in *Weim. Ed.* 19, 76, 9; 79, 18 ff.; *Erl. Ed.* 22, 232, 235; in Large Catechism; again in *Erl. Ed.* 24, 401. This observation would meet Dr. Schaff's criticism of Luther's Catechism in *Creeds* I, 252.

[514] In 1529 one edition appeared after the other. On the 13th of June there was already a third edition, of which a defective copy is preserved. (cf. J. B. Riederer, *Nachrichten zur Kirchen-, Gelehrten- und Buechergeschichte,* 4 vol. Altdorff, 1763; see vol. II, p. 98 f.; see also G. Buchwald, *ut supra,* p. XIV. Of the two preceding editions no original copies (of the Wittenberg print) have been preserved, but we have reprints (two at Erfurt and one at Marburg) which together give us a fair repersentation of the Wittenberg originals, cf. *R. E.* X, 134 (4-14).

of 1539 and finally the one of 1542.[515] Of these editions, the last mentioned is **of especial importance,** because after much changing from one edition to the other it shows us the text as it was left by Luther's hand.

We shall not here deal with the various additions made and then again omitted or modified by Luther during the years between 1529 and 1542,[516] except with one that has been much duscussed, we mean the questions and answers on Confession as we find them in the text of the Book of Concord.[517] Luther inserted a **form for Confession** in the third edition of his Small Catechism and placed it at the close of the fifth part. In the edition of 1531 *he changed the form and put it* where we now find it (in Jacob's editions and also in Mueller, Latin and German) as a closing part to the treatment of the Sacrament of Baptism, or as an introduction to Part five on the Lord's Supper.[518] *After the time of Luther,* already in the sixteenth century (with further extensions in the seventeenth century), this part on Confession was brought together with the doctrine of the Power of the Keys and put into the present form in which we have it in the Book of Concord. The *author* of this form is not known to us.[519] The *cause for em-*

---

[515] These have been critically reviewed by Schneider, Buchwald, A. Ebeling, K. Knoke and others.

[516] Family Prayers, a table of duties for the members of a Christian household, a marriage manual, a baptismal manual.

[517] See Jacob's, People's Edition, p. 371 ff.

[518] The various editions of the Book of Concord differ as to manner of inserting. J. T. Mueller makes it a distinct part, designating it as Part V so that the Part on the Lord's Supper becomes Part VI. Hase gives it as an appendix to Part IV, of Baptism. Francke entitles it "Introduction to Part V".

[519] It has been traced back to two Provosts of Nuremberg. Brenz took it into his Catechism. Through Knipstrow it came into use in Pommerania and the Northern parts of Germany. Kaftan, p. 12. See also Koellner, p. 502 ff.

*phasizing private confession* and the power of the keys came with the Calvinists opposing the same "as a mischievous popish invention".[520]

**Note 1:** The interpreted *Catechisms of Lutheranism differ in their treatment of this subject.* The Eisenach Conference in Germany (a confederative representation of German Protestantism), advisory in charaster refused to give any deliverances on this part of the Catechism.[521] The strictest Lutherans, as a rule, have a "Sixth Part" in their Catechisms, frequently, however, with interpretations and manners of emphasis, which are not accepted by all Lutherans. Kaftan says that the subject as such belongs into Luther's Catechism just as much as the (more important) treatment of Baptism, with which Luther associated it. Luther called Confession, together with Absolution, a *regressus ad Baptismum* and, therefore, was disinclined to regard it as a Sacrament even at a time when Melanchthon so called it in the Apology; but he placed the highest value upon private confession and absolution as taught in the form in which we now have it in the Book of Concord. In the Smalcald Articles (p. 331, VIII) he says: "True absolution, or the power of the keys, instituted in the Gospel by Christ, afford comfort and support against sin and an evil conscience. Confession or absolution shall by no means be abolished in the Church, but be retained, especially on account of weak and timid consciences, and also on account of untutored youth, in order that they may be examined and instructed in the Christian doctrine. But the enumeration of sins should be free to every one, to enumerate or not to enumerate such as he wishes." (See our discussion of Art. XI of the Augsb. Confession.)

**Note 2:** A closer examination of the whole text shows us that this form for Confession is *composed of a doctrinal*[522] *and a ritual element* (the closing part). **Th. Kaftan** suggests that only the first belongs into the Catechism proper, and that

---

[520] Schaff, *Creeds* I, 249.

[521] This is natural, because the Conference is not distinctly Lutheran. Cf. Calinich, *ut supra* p. 83.

[522] Questions 1-3.

the second should be omitted. He points to Luther's own example, who in his later editions did away with the ritual elements. He even goes so far as to say that all should be reduced to the first question, containing the doctrine that has a rightful place in the Catechism. He claims that here we are on a field where we have a right to make changes, following Luther's own example.[523]

**5. The Large Catechism** as a published book is referred to on April 23rd. It contained (1) The mere text of the Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer; (2) The words of institution of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (3) The full explanation of these five parts. In 1530 Luther edited it for the third time. It was translated into Low German and Latin. The many reprints that were made show that the Large Catechism was used exceedingly much in that time, much more than we use it to-day. It was highly appreciated as the commentary from the hand of the author.

**6. Character and value of Luther's Small Catechism.**

a. Much has been said in **praise** of this little book. Dr. Schaff says: "Luther's Small Catechism is truly a great little book, with as many thoughts as words, and every word telling and sticking to the hearts as well as to the memory. It bears the stamp of the religious genius of Luther, who was both its father and its pupil.[524] It exhibits his almost apostolic gift of ex-

[523] Kaftan, *Katechismus*, p. 12.

[524] He says in the Preface to the Larger Catechism: "I am also a doctor and a preacher, endowed with no less learning and experience than those who presume so much on their abilities . . . yet I am like a child who is taught the Catechism, and I read and recite word by word, in the morning and when I have leisure, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms, etc. . . . and must remain, and do cheerfully remain, a child and pupil of the Catechism".

pressing the deepest things in the plainest language for the common people. It is strong food for a man, and yet as simple as a child. It marks an epoch in the history of religious instruction: it purged it from popish superstitions, and brought it back to Scriptural purity and simplicity. As it left far behind all former catechetical manuals, it has, in its own order of excellence and usefulness, never been surpassed. To the age of Reformation it was an incalculable blessing. Luther himself wrote no better book, excepting, of course, his translation of the Bible, and it alone would have immortalized him as one of the great benefactors of the human race."[525] Dr. M. Reu, whose great work we have referred to under "Literature", says of Luther's Small Catechism: "It is a gem of unsurpassed beauty, and when used according to its own intentions it is to-day still the best text-book for our Confirmation classes and an excellent guide for the whole life of a Christian."

b. Yet as a confessional writing Luther's Catechism **must not be overestimated,** which is done by those who *would have it take the place of the Augsburg Confession.* **Prof. Kawerau,** the writer's revered teacher,[526] in enumerating the excellencies of the Catechism, states the following: (1) It offers no connected doctrinal system, not a theology for children (*Kinderdogmatik*), (2) it carefully avoids the school language of the theologians, using no definitions, no shematisms; (3) it contains no

---

[525] *Creeds* I, 250. Immediately following, Schaff adds a few criticisms that are not unanswerable. One of these was answered above in Note 1 (sub. 4), another is disposed of below (sub. b); the others we leave to Catechetics to be dealt with.

[526] I never forgot his lectures on the catechetical treatment of Luther's Catechism in the summer semester of 1887 in the Kiel University.

polemics.[527] Of **Prof. Kahnis** we quote this: "As symbolical writings both Catechisms cannot claim the authority of the Augsburg Confession." He gives two reasons: (1) they were not direct testimonies of the Church; (2) according to their purpose, they did not give complete expression to the doctrinal character of Lutheranism.[528] In **our book for laymen** on the Augsburg Confession, p. 33 (under the question: "Why is Luther's Catechism not enough?") we wrote the following, which may here find a place: "The Catechism does not aim at completeness. As instances let us mention a few things. While the Catechism, in the Ten Commandments, leads us to see our sins, it does not give such a carefully guarded definition of original sin as the source of individual sins as we have it in Art. II of the Augsburg Confession. While the teaching of the Catechism on the forgiveness of sins rests upon the central doctrine of justification, yet there is nowhere in the Catechism such clear and definite statement of this great doctrine as we have in Art. IV of the Confession. Neither do we find in the Catechism such statements of the relation between justification and sanctification as they are given in Articles VI and XX of the Augsburg Confession. The Catechism, in the explanation of the third article of the Apostles' Creed, teaches beautifully of the saving work of the Holy Spirit in the Church, but it cannot, according to its plan, deal with such principles in the doctrines of the Church as we find them expressed in Articles VII, VIII, XIII, XIV and XV."

---

[527] Cf. F. Cohrs, in *R. E. X.*, 135 (36 f.).

[528] K. F. A. Kahnis, *Luthertum und Christentum.* Leipzig, 1871 (p. 136).

## VIII. CONTENTS OF THE LARGE CATECHISM.

By Geo. J. Fritschel.

### PART FIRST.

### The Ten Commandments.

#### The First Commandment.

**To have God** means to have Him as refuge; to trust Him and have confidence in Him. 1-3. The commandment here then is: "Let Me be your God, and seek from Me all good and trust in Me in all misfortune and need." 4.

**Illustrations** how God is **NOT** held as God: The avaricious (rich and poor) make money their God and trust in it; likewise others trust in skill, art, wisdom, power, etc. (5-10), while the saints were called upon in need (11-12). In this way something is made God.

God demands the **whole heart** and all trust and obedience. 16. But the world is idolatrous (17), as were the heathens (18-21), and the Roman Church. 22-23.

This must be made plain to the common people by showing that God is He who gives body, food, health, peace, and protects and gives all good. 24-25. He uses for this purpose middle persons (parents, princes, neighbors). 26-27.

Application.

Examine your own heart: (a) If you cling to God alone, then He is your God; (b) If you trust something else, then He is not your God.

God has added **a warning** in order that we should see that this commandment must be fulfilled. 29-30. These words refer to all commandments, but are added here to the first as the main commandment. They show the **wrath** of God and his **mercy.** 32-34. The wrath is revealed in history. 35-38. The promise should induce us to do God's will. 40.

**Admonition:** Heed it, for you will receive either wrath or blessing. 41-46. Let us use all things as means in His service. 47-48.

#### The Second Commandment.

**Introduction:** The first commandment speaks of **faith** in the heart, the second of the **tongue** and mouth. 50.

*Wrong use of God's Name.*

This means to use God's name falsely. 51-52. It is abused in *commercial affairs.* 53. It is abused in *religious* matters by covering lies with God's name. 54-55. Lying is a sin in itself, but it is so much greater if God's name is used to cover it. 56.

Hence a **special warning** has been added, since this has become a common vice. This commandment should therefore be impressed especially upon the young. 57-61.

*The Correct Use.*

God gave his name that it should be **used for good things.** Hence it is good to use God's name for truth (in oaths where necessary, in teaching, in need, in praise, etc.). 64.

**Admonition:** Children should be taught by punishment not to abuse the name of God, but to use it diligently. 69-72. A part of such use is **grace** before and after meals, and true interjections. 73-76. But everything depends upon the heart, which must be God's in order that His name be not abused. 77.

**The Third Commandment.**

**"Holyday"** stands for the Hebrew "Sabbath," which was the Old Testament day of rest. 79. The commandment to rest on the seventh day is a law for the Jews only and in the literal sense does not concern us Christians. 80-84.

1. But for us Christians this commandment includes **two facts:** (a) We already have a **day of rest.** 83. (b) This day of rest is to be used for divine **worship.** 84. By itself one day is just as holy as another, but to have a common meeting a certain day must be assigned, and since Sunday has been handed down as such we must make no innovations. 85.

2. Hence this commandment prescribes that we must use this day of rest for divine words, work and life. 86-87.

3. This is not done by merely resting and dressing in Sunday suits but by using God's word. 89-90. God's Word is the sanctuary above all sanctuaries, sanctifying those that use it. 91-92. Hence the emphasis is to be placed upon the word **SANCTIFY.**

APPLICATION.

God punishes those that break this commandment. 95. Not only those do so that go to taverns, etc., but also those who hear the Word, but only from custom and not eagerly. 96-97. Remember, therefore, that it is not enough to hear on Sunday, but that you must **keep and use the Word.** 98. That our time does not care for God's Word brings it into danger of being misled by the devil. 99. But in those that use the Word it will produce fruit and drive off the devil. 100-102.

**The Fourth Commandment.**

**Introduction:** The first three commandments speak of man's **duty to God** (person, name, word); the next seven speak about duties **to man.** 103. Of other human beings, God has preferred the **parents** above all and has commanded that we should not only love, but honor them as those who are next to God. 105-107. They are to be considered not only in their person, but in their **position.** 108

1. THE PARENTS.

1. To honor the parents **means:** (a) To esteem them as the highest treasure on earth, above all other things. 109. (b) To treat them as such in words. 110. (c) To pay due respect in deeds by taking care of them, especially when they need our help. 111.
2. This is a **holy** and divine **instruction.** By monasticism it was set aside, but it is the highest work for a child. 112-114.
   (a) Hence this should be impressed upon all children as a service to God. 115-116. Children should thank God that he has taken them for this work which in God's eyes is greater than all monastic works, for it is a divinely commanded work. 117-126.
   (b) Besides this, thankfulness demands it. 127-130.
3. A **special promise** has been added. 131. This shows how earnestly God really means it. 132-133. The promise includes all benefits of this life. 134. A threat is included in the promise for those who dishonor their parents. 135-136. Experience gives examples for both. 137-139.
4. Hence this commandment should be **well taught,**

II. Government.

**All human authority** is included in this commandment, because it all **comes from parental** position in home, school, and state. 141-142.

**Application:** If this were learned, how much better would it be in home and state, and how much punishment would be avoided. 145-157.

III. Church.

All the **spiritual fathers** are included, and they should be honored likewise. 158-163. God's promise should make us eager to do what we must do, and to do it joyfully. 164-168.

IV. The Duties of Parents.

Even if not expressed in the Ten Commandments, their duties are **prescribed** in the Word of God. 167-169. They should feel their obligation to God. 167-169. How much better would it be if this were realized and done. 175-178.

**The Fifth Commandment.**

We now proceed from the house to the **community,** and see what God has commanded in regard to our **fellowmen.** 180-181.

1. This commandment is preached in the church year (in the lesson of the sixth Sunday after Trinity), that God not only forbids murder, but even wrath. 182.
2. God knows our fellowmen sin against us, and from this arises cursing and finally murder. 183-187.
3. The **meaning** of this Fifth Commandment then is: (a) Thou shalt not injure another by hand, tongue, or hatred in the heart. 188. (b) Thou shalt do good to others. 189-194.

**Application:** This, then, is God's Word and we should do it because He is our God. 195. This gives us plenty of work, so that we need not look for other holy works (as monasticism, etc.). 196-198.

**The Sixth Commandment.**

In the Fifth commandment God protects the **neighbor's body;** in this one he protects that which stands next to his

life, namely his **spouse.** 200. (a) In Israel every one had to be married, and there were to be no harlots; hence adultery was *the sin* of unchastity. 201. (b) For us this commandment includes all unchastity, and forbids not only overt actions, but all causes, and includes heart, mouth, and body. 202-204. (c) Hence it demands that every one should live chastely, and help his neighbor to do likewise. 205.

In Regard to Matrimony.

Next to the paternal state this institution is **honored most** by God who demands that we should also honor it. 206-207. (1) It is instituted before all others for **the sake of the human race,** and is blessed by God; therefore we should recognize it as such. 208-210. (2) It is **necessary for all** (except a select few) in order to avoid unchastity. 211-212. The Roman celibacy (even if really held) despises it. 213-216. If this is clearly understood, matrimony would be restored to its true and honored position. 217-218.

This commandment **demands** two things: (1) That each one must live chaste in deeds, words, and thoughts in his state, above all in matrimony. (2) That each shall love and esteem the spouse given by God. 219-221.

**The Seventh Commandment.**

1. Next to the wife come **earthly possessions.** God forbids that we should take anything **wrongfully,** as is done universally in commercial life. (223-224), in the house (226), in labor (226), on the market (227-228), by the respected (229), and, above all, by the pope (230). The great thieves go unpunished, the small ones are punished (231).

2. Therefore **God's wrath** must be placed before the eyes of all to show that those who escape the law will be found by God. 232-233.

3. **Experience** shows that unrighteous gain does not profit. 236-237. Hence let the young learn to obey this commandment. 248-249.

4. This **includes also** the following notes: (a) That we should not permit our neighbor's property to be taken. (b) That we should assist him to keep and improve it, no matter whether he is a friend or an enemy. 250-252.

5. God, the rich Lord above all, **will reward** those that do His will. 263.

### The Eighth Commandment.

1. After the neighbor's wife and property, comes his **good name;** therefore God commands that also this shall not be spoiled. 255-256.
2. This commandment **forbids:**
   (a) All false testimony in court. 263-269.
   (b) Calling good Christians heretics and persecuting them. 262.
   (c) All sins of the tongue, especially backbiting. 263-269. Even if one is guilty, you should not gossip about his offense, but report it to the proper authorities. 270-275. The correct way is to reprove the sinner face to face. 276-283. However public sins may be declared as such. 284.
3. Hence this commandment **demands:** (a) That we should not injure our neighbor's reputation by word; (b) That we should cover and excuse them. 285-291.

### The Ninth and Tenth Commandments.

The **Jews** had the idea that they had obeyed the sixth and seventh Commandments if they did not commit adultery or did not steal. For this reason God **forbade** in these commandments **to desire** (9th), or **in any way to get them,** which was possible at that time (10th). 292-295.

Hence the **correct interpretation** is that no one should think or purpose to obtain these even with appearance of right. 296-299. For not only the rogues, but also the pious gentlemen try to get what others have; the latter in traffic and law use skill and lawful pretexts. 300-304. The same occurs in the family and house. 305-306.

God does not wish that you deprive another one of anything that he has, nor should you desire it to his detriment. 307-310.

### Conclusion of the Ten Commandments.

Thus the Ten Commandments are a **compend of divine teaching** what should be done if you would please God, and also whence such works could come. 311-312.

Any one will **find enough to do** and will have his hands full, 313a, even if the world esteems only the outward self-chosen works as great and despises these works demanded by God. 313b-318.

In the words of the text God shows (1) his **wrath** and (2) his **promise** to terrify and encourage us. 320-322.

Thereby he demands obedience proceeding **from a heart** that fears and loves God. 323. Thereby he interprets the different commandments. 324-329.

Therefore this should be **impressed** especially upon the young, 330-332, and these Ten Commandments should be extolled about everything aside from them; they are the highest treasure given by God. 333.

## PART TWO.

## The Apostles' Creed.

### Introduction.

In the first part we are taught **what** we should **do** and not do. We are now taught what we can **expect** of God, in order that we may trust Him and do His will. For we can never do it by ourselves; hence we must learn **where** and **how** we can get **divine help** and strength. 1-4.

Formerly the Creed was divided into **twelve articles;** it is simpler to divide it into **three** articles, according to the three persons of Trinity. These state: I believe in **GOD THE FATHER,** who created me. I believe in **GOD THE SON,** who redeemed me. I believe in **GOD THE HOLY GHOST,** who sanctifies me.

### Article I.[529]

**Creator of heaven and earth.**

Who is God? It is He who made heaven and earth, and He alone. 10-11.

---

[529] ARRANGEMENT OF THE SMALL CATECHISM.

I BELIEVE IN GOD . . . MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

I believe that God has created me and all that exists; that he has given and still preserves to me my body and soul, with all my limbs and senses, my reason and all the faculties of my mind, together with my raiment, food, home, and family, and all my

He who has given and preserves body and soul and life, etc. 12-14.

**Almighty.**

God also daily preserves and defends against all danger and calamity. 17a.

**Father.**

He does this all without any merit, of pure love and goodness as a friendly father. 17b-18. If we truly believe this from our heart, we will not be proud, but humble, remembering that we sin daily. 19-22. Hence we should daily study this article.

## Article II.

Summarized: **I believe in Jesus Christ, our Lord.**[530]

### Who is He?

I believe that Jesus Christ became **my Lord;** that is: He has redeemed me from sin, the devil and death. I was

---

property; that he daily provides me abundantly with all the necessaries of life.

ALMIGHTY

(He) protects me from all danger, and preserves me and guards me against all evil;

THE FATHER

All which he does out of pure, paternal, and divine goodness, and mercy, without any worthiness in me;

for all which I am in duty bound to thank, praise, serve, and obey Him. This is most certainly true.

[530]Arrangement of the Small Catechism.

*I. Who is Christ?*

I BELIEVE IN JESUS CHRIST . . . OUR LORD.

I believe that Jesus Christ . . . is my Lord

HIS ONLY SON

True God, begotten of the Father from eternity,

WHO WAS CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY GHOST, BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary.

*II. What did he do to become my Lord?*

SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, ETC.

Who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, secured and delivered me from all sins, from death, and from the power

lost, but He has ransomed me, and has taken me into his protection. 28-30.

How Did He Become My Lord?

What He did in order to redeem me and bring me under his dominion is **enumerated** in the different assertions concerning His life and work. 31. The details belong to the more minute instruction, as in sermons. 32. This entire article includes our **salvation,** and we can never learn it prefectly in its whole contents. 33.

### Article III.[531]

**I. Who is the Holy Ghost?**

He is the **Spirit of God,** who regenerates and sanctifies us. 35-38. Christ has acquired the treasure for us, and the Holy Ghost brings it to us. 38-40.

**II. How does he do this?**

---

of the devil, not with silver and gold, but with His innocent sufferings and death;

In order that I might be His, live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and blessedness: even as he is risen from the dead, and lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true.

[531] Arrangement of the Small Catechism.

*I. Who is the Holy Ghost?*

I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY GHOST.

I believe that I cannot by my own reason and strength believe in Jesus Christ my Lord, or come to him;

But the Holy Ghost has called me through the gospel, enlightened me by his gifts, and sanctified and preserved me in true faith;

*II. How does he make me holy?*

THE HOLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH, THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS,

In like manner as he calls, gathers, enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the true faith;

THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS:

In which Christian Church he daily forgives abundantly all my sins, and the sins of all believers;

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY: AND THE LIFE EVERLASTING. AMEN.

And will raise up me and all dead at the last day, and will grant everlasting life to me and to all who believe in Christ. This is most certainly true.

1. **In the Church,** the assembly of pure saints under Christ as the Head. 41-53.

2. **Through the forgiveness** of sins. 54-59.

3. Through the **resurrection** of the body and the **life everlasting.** 80.

The work of creation has been *accomplished,* redemption has been *finished;* but the Holy Spirit's work is *continuous* until the last day. 61-62.

## PART THREE.

### The Lord's Prayer.

#### Introduction.

We have now learned what a man must **DO** and **BELIEVE.** We will now learn how we are to **PRAY.** 1. Even a believer cannot fulfil the law; therefore he must continually ask God to give, sustain, and increase him in faith and obedience, and to remove what hinders him. 2. Christ here has taught us the manner and words of such prayer.

*What should induce us to pray?*

1. God has **commanded** us to pray, and this is one of the most important commandments. 4-6, viz.: to call upon him in all times of need. 7-9. This is the most important reason and refutes all doubt; 10-11, and must not be despised (*cf.* Fourth Commandment). 12-21.
2. God has **promised** to hear us, we can appeal to his promise. 19-21.
3. God has given us the manner and **words.** 22-23.
4. Our need should lead us to pray. 24.

*How should we pray?*

Prayer should be in **earnest.** This was not the way of the monastic prayers. 25. But we should feel our need, and therefore **seek our help** from God. 26-27. We should also get used to this from youth up, 28-29, since all our help is in prayer. 30-32. Hence prayer should be considered an important matter. 33-34.

#### First Petition.

This **means:** "Help, that Thy name be holy with us on earth." 36-38. It is holy with us (a) if our teaching is holy,

(b) if our life is holy. 39. (a) God's name is profaned to ornament false doctrine, or to swear, curse, etc. 40-41. (b) God's name is profaned if Christians live in adultery, drunkenness, avarice, etc. 42-44.

Hence we pray for that which God commands in the Second Commandment, that we might praise and know his name both in words and works. 45-46. This prayer is highly important against those that dishonor his name and for us who do not hallow it as we should. 47. If we pray this from our heart, it is well-pleasing to him. 48.

### Second Petition.

We pray that his kingdom may come to us, so that we may be among those who hallow His name and cause his kingdom to prosper. 49-50.

The **kingdom** means that God has **sent his Son** as Redeemer to become our King of righteousness, life, and salvation, and has given his Holy Spirit to make us partakers thereof, and keep us in the faith. 51.

Hence **we pray:** "Give, first, Thy Word that the Gospel be preached effectively throughout the world, and, secondly, that it be received in faith, that we may live now and forever in perfect righteousness and blessedness." 52-54.

This is an ineffable treasure; but God has commanded us to pray for it and promised to give it. It would be unbelief and dishonor to God if we should pray for less. 55-58.

### Third Petition.

In the previous petitions we have asked that we may come into the ownership of God and his possessions; here we pray that we **may abide** in it. 59-61.

The devil rages as a fierce enemy against the kingdom of God, and enlists his allies (the world, our own flesh) in order to hinder us, and to cause us to fall again under his power. 62-64. Hence we must not expect peace, but the cross, and must be ready to surrender whatever we have on earth. 65-66.

Therefore we should pray without ceasing: "Thy will be done; may the evil be overcome; grant us to bear with patience our lot, that we may not fall away from weakness

or indolence." 67. This we ask for God's sake and, above all, for our own steadfastness. 68.

Such prayer is our own **protection and defence** and forms a wall against the devil's will; which is that God's kingdom should not abide on earth or that God's name should not be hallowed. 69-70.

### Fourth Petition.

This prayer is for our bodily and **temporary life.** 72a. "Bread" includes **everything necessary** to sustain and enjoy life — family, neighbors, government, etc. 72b-75. Hence a long and manifold prayer is condensed into this petition. 76-79. It is directed especially against the devil, who would deprive us of it and prevent it. 80-81.

God also wishes to indicate that it is He who provides for our daily maintenance, and that we should receive it as a gift of his paternal goodness. 82-84.

### Fifth Petition.

This petition refers to our poor miserable life; for though we believe His Word, do his will, and suffer, and are supported by him, yet **we daily stumble** on account of evil men and the devil. 86-87.

Hence we must pray: "Dear Father, forgive." Not as though he would not do so unless we pray so; but that we should recognize and accept His forgiveness. 88.

This prayer breaks our pride and **keeps us humble,** since none become perfect. 90-91.

This prayer means that God should not regard our sins, but deal with us graciously, as he has promised. 92.

The addition, "as we forgive," reminds us that **we must also forgive.** If you do not forgive others, do not think that God will forgive you. If you do forgive, you may be sure that God has freely forgiven you. 93-96. Hence this is added as a sign and token to confirm our conscience by daily and hourly practice. 97-98.

### Sixth Petition.

Notwithstanding forgiveness, yet our life is of such a nature that we stand today and fall tomorrow. Hence the godly must daily pray that God would **not suffer** them **to re-**

**lapse** and yield to temptation. 100. Temptation comes from our own flesh (100-102), the ungodly world (103), and the devil (104), and should drive every Christian to pray to God that He would not allow us to become weary, faint and to relapse. 105.

"Not leading into temptation" is, to give power and strength lest we fall and be drowned therein. 106. Feeling a temptation is not to consent or yield; but **consenting** is to give it loose rein, not to resist or pray against it. 107-108. Hence a Christian must incessantly pray against the devil and his various temptations. 109.

The only help is to pray: "Dear Father, let me not slide back on account of temptation." 110. If you venture to help yourself, you give the devil more opportunity. But prayer drives him away. 111.

### Seventh Petition.

This petition, according to the Greek, refers to the devil as the chief enemy, who tries to prevent all that we pray for (God's name, kingdom and our daily bread). 113. But it includes also whatever may happen to us under the devil's kingdom. **So unless God preserves** us we are not secure for an hour. 114. Hence God wishes us to pray for bodily interests (fourth petition), — but above all, that his name be sanctified in us (first petition), his kingdom come (second petition), and his will be done among us (third petition), and finally that He would preserve us from sin and everything that might harm us. 117-118.

All this has been placed before us, so that we have no excuse for not praying. But everything depends upon praying in faith, and not doubting that he will hear us. 119. Without faith there can be no true prayer. 120-121. Those who cannot add, "Amen," do not regard God's promise, but their own worthiness; thereby they despise God. 122-124.

## PART FOUR.

## Baptism.

We have now studied the common parts of the Catechism. But every Christian should also have at least an elementary knowledge of the Sacraments. 1.

We will first discuss Baptism, by which we are received into Christianity. 2.

### I. The Institution of Baptism.

Baptism is divinely **commanded** and what God institutes must be a precious gift. 3-8. If the indulgence of the Pope, certified by letter and seal, was esteemed highly, how much more should we think of Baptism in the name of God? 9.

To be baptized "in the name of God" is to be baptized by God himself, even if done through the agency of man; hence Baptism is above all works. 10-13.

This then shows what Baptism is, viz.: not mere water, but **water in God's Word and command** — a water of God, sanctified by the Word and command. 14. God's Word is what makes this water the most precious water on earth, a godly, heavenly, sacred and **blessed water.** 15-18. As in the Fourth Commandment the parents and authorities receive their special character by God's command, so God honored this Sacrament by word and deed and even miracles in the Baptism of Christ. 10-21.

Hence these two (water and Word) must by no means be separated. Without the Word the water would be a "barber's bath;" but **with the Word** it is **a Sacrament,** or "Christ-bath." 22.

### II. The Benefit of Baptism.

This is explained in the Word, "Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved" — that is, **Baptism saves:** it rescues from sin, death and the devil, and brings us into Christ's kingdom in order that we should live in it eternally. 23-25.

This shows the **unspeakable treasure** contained in baptism. Water alone could not do this; but the Word and God's name in it make it a divine, blessed, fruitful water of life, a bath of regeneration. 26-27.

Wiseacres **object:** Faith alone saves, hence external things do nothing. 28. Answer: But faith must have something upon which to rely. And **faith relies on the water** connected with God's Word and institution. 29. God works internally only through external institutions. Those that reject Baptism reject faith and Christ who has bound us to Baptism. 30-31.

### III. Who Receives the Benefit?

This is also shown by the words: Whosoever believeth, etc." — **faith alone.** Faith accepts the word offered and promised, and works do not come into consideration. 32-34.

It is **objected:** Baptism is a work. — Answer: It is **God's work** and demands simple faith, *i. e.,* you must be baptized because God has commanded in order to receive the salvation promised. This promise can be received not with the fist, but with the heart (faith). 35-36. Hence Baptism is no human work, but a treasure presented to us and **grasped by faith,** even as the crucified Savior, presented to us as a treasure in the Word, is grasped by faith. 37.

### Application.

Here we have the **three parts** concerning this Sacrament, of which especially the promise must be believed. 38-39. The treasure is always there, but it must be taken and held in faith. 40. A Christian must throughout life firmly believe what is promised and bestowed: victory over death, forgiveness, God's grace, the whole Christ, and the Holy Spirit with his gifts. If some physician knew the art to keep people alive, or to restore them to life if they died, he would be buried under money showered upon him by the world. But this very thing is brought to us gratis in Baptism. 41-43.

Hence the troubled conscience should **console** itself thus: "I have been baptized and thus have been promised salvation and eternal life for body and soul." 44. The body receives the water, the soul receives the word; hence it is a priceless treasure. 45-46.

### Excursus on Infant Baptism.

The devil and his mob misleads the world by the question whether children can believe and are proper subjects of baptism. The unlearned do better to refer this question to the more learned. 47-49.

### Proofs for the Validity of Infant Baptism.

1. **God's own work** proves that baptism is **acceptable** to him; for He sanctifies many baptized as infants and has given them his Holy Spirit, so that they are godly in doctrine

and life. 49. If God did not approve, it would not have blessed those thus baptized, *e. g.,* Bernard, Gerson, Huss, and many others baptized in childhood. 50-51.

2. We do **not trouble** ourselves **whether** the child presented for baptism **has** (previous) **faith,** but we care for God's word and command. My faith does not make Baptism, but receives it. Baptism does not become invalid even when not used or received rightly. (*cf.* a Jew). 52-55.

If you did not believe when baptized, **believe now.** Come and say: "I trust upon Thy word and command". 56.

Thus we do in Infant Baptism: we **bring** the infants in the belief that they do believe, and we ask **God to give them faith;** but we baptize them, because God commands Baptism. 57.

Hence those are foolish that say: "Where there is no faith, there is no true Baptism". This is on a par with this idea: "If I do not believe, Christ is nothing", or, "If I do not obey, then father, government, etc., are nothing". 58. Turn it around and say: "Baptism is **correct since it is abused;** if it were wrong in itself, it could not be abused". 59.

Baptism is **always right** and retains its value on account of God's command and word, which cannot be changed by man. But these fanatics do not consider God's word and command, and hence see only the water in the creeks or vessels, and because they cannot see faith and obedience, they deny their existence. 60-62.

#### IV. The Symbolical Meaning of Baptism.

The immersion **signifies** that the **old Adam** is to be **destroyed,** the e-mersion signifies that a **new man arises.** And this work is **begun** in Baptism, and is to be **continued** throughout life. 64-65. The old Adam is the innate corruption, which is to decrease daily. 68. Where this does not take place, the Baptism is counteracted and the old Adam increases.

Hence this rite is not only instituted to work effectively, but also to signify the same. Where faith is connected with it, it is both the work and that which is signified. Where faith is absent, it is a mere symbol without effect. 69-73.

Baptism therefore **includes repentance.** Repentance means that one ever returns to his Baptism; for Baptism not only signifies, but also produces new life and the suppression of the old man. 74-76.

Hence it **retains its value** even if one falls from grace through sin. 77. He should not be rebaptized; for the value and significance remain. But repentance is a return to Baptism by repeating what was begun there. 77-79. Formerly the idea of Jerome prevailed: namely, repentance is the **board** after **the ship** (Baptism) has been shattered. Then Baptism did not help any. But if we fall from Baptism we must return, and then remain in it. 81-82.

This shows what an excellent thing Baptism is, since it rescues us from the devil, makes us God's own children, curbs sin and strengthens the new man, and remains with us until we come to eternal glory. 83.

Therefore every one should consider Baptism as a daily dress in which he walks and continues to quench the old man and grow in the new. And if one falls from Baptism, he should return to the abiding grace of God. 84-86.

## PART FIVE.

### The Lord's Supper.

The answers to the same questions raised in regard to Baptism are contained in the words of institution. 1-3.

It was **instituted by God himself.** The Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed remain what they are, even if you despise them. Likewise the Sacrament retains its value whether we use it or abuse it. 4-7.

#### I. What is the Sacrament of the Altar?

It is **not mere** bread and wine, but bread and wine **comprehended** in and connected with the Word of God. 9-11. The Word is joined to the element, and so it becomes a Sacrament. And if ten thousand devils and **ALL fanatics deny this,** God knows more in his little finger. We abide by the Word of God, and believe that it is as Christ has said. 12-14.

Though a rascal takes or distributes the elements, the Sacrament remains a Sacrament; for the institution of Christ can not be changed. 15-19.

**II. What is the Benefit of the Sacrament?**

The Sacrament is contained in Christ's words; we should receive that treasure through which we receive the forgiveness of sins. 20-22. Hence it is called a **food of the soul** which nourishes and strengthens the new man. Baptism gives the new birth, the Lord's Supper is to **strengthen faith,** so that the new man may increase. 23-26.

**(III. How can the bodily eating and drinking produce such great effects?)**

We speak not of any bread, but of that which is the body and blood of Christ, through which forgiveness has been bought. Christ asserts that it is his body and blood, and that it is yours as a gift. 28-30. It is true that these were not sacrificed in the Sacrament, but on the cross to obtain forgiveness of sins; but these **come to us through the Word.** 32.

**IV. Who receives the benefit?**

He who believes has what the words declare and bring. These words were not spoken to wood and stone, but to those who hear the words: "Take, eat, etc." 33. Since forgiveness is offered, it can be received only by faith; the **treasure is present;** but only those **who accept it have it.** To others it is offered in vain. 33-35.

This then is the **whole preparation** in order to receive it worthily: to accept it with the heart. It can not be grasped with the hand.

Fasting etc. is a **bodily preparation;** but **faith** of the heart only can take the forgiveness. 36-38.

ADMONITION.

This great treasure should be **received often.** Many pass one, — two, — three years without communion, since the papal pomp has fallen and we have been freed from compulsion. 40. They offer various excuses for such vulgarity: They imagine that they do not need it. Or, it is free and if they believe, that is sufficient. 41.

It is true that we did say: **nobody should be forced** or compelled to communion. But such people are not Christians; for Christ did not institute the Sacrament to be looked at, but

to be used in remembrance of him. 42. The true Christians should come themselves, but for the sake of the weak and simple we will show the cause and necessity. 43-44.

### Why Should We Commune Often?

1. On account of the **plain words** of Christ: "This **DO** in remembrance of me". This is a specific command and a true Christian will do it to please Christ. 45. Christ left it free that we could take it more frequently than the Old Testament Passover at such times as each sees best. 46-48.

He did not say so that we might despise it; but his command should arouse us, lest we become cold and indifferent. 49-54.

If you **feel** that you are **not "prepared"** — what then? This idea is a remnant of papacy, as if we should only come when we have become "pious" and "pure". (This would be — never). 55-57. Shameless and indecent people should indeed stay away; but **penitent sinners should come,** since they never will be rid of their weakness. 58-60. Such should know that the Sacrament does not depend upon worthiness, but whosoever desires grace and consolation should come because God commanded it. 61-63.

2. A **promise** has been added: "for you". 64-65.

He offers to us the treasures of heaven, and we should not reject them until our hearts become cold and hard. The Sacrament should not be looked upon as a detrimental thing, but as a consoling remedy for both body and soul. 66-68.

It is true, the **ungodly receive** it to their hurt and judgment, but those who feel their weakness should see in it only a precious antidote against the poison of sin in them, in order to bring them forgiveness, God's grace, etc. 69-70.

3. Your **own distress** ought to impel you.

For this reason God commands, invites and **promises the weary** and laden. If you are one of these, go joyfully and receive. If you want to wait until you are pure and worthy, you will never come. **Only those are unworthy** who do not feel their infirmities nor wish to be considered sinners. 71-73.

If you ask: "What if I **do not feel** such distress?" then:

(a) **Investigate** whether you **still have flesh** and blood. These are charged by St. Paul as sinful. They believe the Scriptures which teach that you are sinful. 76-77.

(b) **Look around you** whether you are in the world. If you try to live a godly life, you will soon find sin and need around you. 79. If you do not feel this, you need help so much more and will find double necessity for the sacrament. 83-84.

CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE CATECHISM.

All this is said by way of **admonition for old and young.** If the young can be instructed, then the Ten Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer can be inculcated. The old are wellnigh beyond help, but let us bring up the young; then they will educate their posterity in God's Word.

Hence each **housefather** must know that he is responsible to God **to teach his children** in these things or have them taught. They have been baptized, and should also use the Lord's Supper for their own benefit. 85-87.

## IX. THE FORMULA OF CONCORD.

By GEO. J. FRITSCHEL

The author desires to state that it has been his endeavor to treat the vast material as briefly as possible. In the historical parts he has tried to present merely those facts which must be known for an intelligent study of the documents. He has tried to eliminate all that might distract from the central facts, pre-supposing that this book will be used by many students who come in touch with the Formula of Concord for the first time. The author's more detailed monograph (quoted below under "Literature", see also the Foreword to this book) can be used with profit by students desiring to go deeper. The synopses of the contents are here presented with a comparative brevity (1) because in the Epitome we have already a brief material synopsis and (2) because a more extensive formal synopsis is given in the monograph mentioned.

**Literature:** A full enumeration of all pertinent literature is given by **Th. Kolde** in his *Historische Einleitung in die Symbolischen Buecher* (10th ed. of J. T. Mueller); also in the article of **R. Seeberg** in *Realencyclopaedie* 3rd ed. (*cf.* Schaff-Herzog). At this place we mention only the following works: **G. Thomasius:** *Das Bekenntniss der ev. luth. Kirche in der Konsequenz seines Princips.* Nuernberg, 1848.

**H. Heppe,** *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus* (4 vol.). Marburg, 1852 ff. By the same author: *Der Text der Bergischen Konkordienformel verglichen mit dem Text der schwaebischen Konkordia, der schwaebisch-saechsischen K. und des Torgauer Buches.* Marburg 1857. **F. H. R. Frank,** Die Theologie der Konkordienformel (4 vol.). Erlangen, 1858-65. **K. Fr. Goeschel,** *Die Konkordienformel nach ihrer Geschichte, Lehre und Kirchl. Bedeutung.* Leipzig, 1858. **W. Preger,** *Matth. Flacius Illyricus* (2 vol.). Erlangen, 1859. **J. W. Richard,** The Confessional History of the Luth. Church. Phila., 1909. **T. E. Schmauk** and **C. T. Benze,** The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Luth. Church. Phila.. 1911. **P. Tschackert,** *Entstehung der lutherischen und reformierten Kirchenlehre.* Hanover, 1910. **Geo. J. Fritschel,** *The Formula of Concord, its Origin and Contents.* Phila., 1916.

### A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

## 1. Synopsis of the History of the Times.

**1. The Prospects of Lutheranism in 1546.** The Lutheran Church had spread after the days of Augsburg (1530); the greater part of Germany had **accepted** the the doctrine of the Gospel. The different countries in which it had been officially introduced had been **organized** after the pattern of the electorate of Saxony: the ruler was the representative and guardian of the Church, prominent theologians were his theological advisers, and supervisors had the oversight of the conditions of the Church in the various parishes. The various *"Kirchenordnungen"* (Church Constitutions) prescribed the new order both in regard to doctrine and life. Luther's Catechism was taught in the new common schools, which were being introduced everywhere. This Catechism with the *"Kirchenordnungen"*, was the most influential book, even more important than the Augsburg Confession. We must remember that books were com-

paratively few at that time, and hence were read more frequently and studied more thoroughly than in our time. A union with the Swiss Church seemed imminent some time before Luther's death. Bucer was endeavoring to induce the Swiss to accept the Wittenberg Concord, as the German cities in the South had done.[532]

**2. The Smalcald War.** The great **catastrophe** predicted by Luther came soon after his death. In this war the Lutheran side was utterly defeated and crushed in consequence of the incapacity of the leaders and the treason of Maurice, duke of Saxony. Charles I had succeeded in dividing the Lutheran forces by various schemes. Elector John Frederick was taken prisoner and Landgrave Philip of Hessia had to surrender. Both were kept in confinement indefinitely.[533]

**3. The Emperor's Plans.** The Pope was now afraid of the emperor's power, and quickly adjourned the council in session at Trent in order to prevent him from dictating a compromise between the two churches. The emperor then decided to arrange matters in the churches according to his own views until the final settlement should be made at the council. He forced the **Augsburg Interim** upon the Lutherans of Southern Germany. His ally, the "Judas of Meisen", Maurice of Saxony (now raised to electoral dignity in reward for his assistance) met him half-way in the **Leipzig Interim.** These measures divided the Lutherans into *three factions:* those who submitted to the Augsburg Interim, those who had accepted the Leipzig Interim, and those who rejected and condemned both. The stronghold of the latter was in Magdeburg and the Free Cities of the

---

[532] For details see monograph pp. 15-17.
[533] Cf. monograph pp. 20-21.

North and the territory assigned to the sons of the former elector (ducal Saxony).[534]

**4. The Defeat of the Emperor.** The emperor also intended to make a change in the organization of the state in order to *break the power* of the German *princes* and make them subject to the imperial direction. Not only the Lutheran, but also the Catholic princes resented this (illegal) interference with their rights. Maurice made himself the champion of German **nationalism** against Spanish autocracy. Unexpectedly he declared war upon the emperor, charging him with many violations of his oath of office. He defeated him by a quick and effective campaign and compelled him to surrender all his attainments (**Treaty of Passau,** 1552). The **Augsburg Religious Peace Treaty** of 1555 made these stipulations a part of the German Constitution. It decreed: (1) That in future Catholics and Lutherans should stand upon an equal footing in the empire; (2) The principle should be: *Cujus regio, ejus religio, i. e.* the ruler has the legal right to establish or disestablish the Church in his state; (3) In the Free Cities neither part must molest the other; (4) Protestant or Catholic subjects may emigrate if they refuse to accept the religion introduced by the ruler. A memorandum was added by the Emperor Ferdinand when he published it (the *Reservatum Ecclesiasticum*): In the ecclesiastical territories (countries ruled by bishops, etc.) the Protestant subjects must be tolerated, but in case the ruler becomes a Protestant, he must resign his office; the territories must remain Catholic.[535]

---

[534] Cf. monograph pp. 24-30.

[535] Cf. monograph pp. 30-34.

**5. Further Development.** Charles I, seeing the total failure of his political and ecclesiastical policy, **abdicated,** and was succeeded by his brother Ferdinand (1556-1564), and his descendants. They were *not able to stem the tide of Protestantism* until the "Spanish Priests" (Jesuits) began their successful policy of counter-Reformation. Under Maximilian II (1564-1576), seven-tenths of the population of Germany (excluding Lutheran Prussia) were Lutheran, two-tenths Reformed, and one-tenth was Catholic. Under Rudolph II (1576-1612), the *Romanist reaction* began to become dangerous. In his time the Formula of Concord was accepted and published.[536]

## 2. Synopsis of the Inner History from 1546-1576.

**1. Melanchthon's Incapacity as Leader.** After Luther's death, all eyes turned to his dear and faithful associate, who now became the leader of the church in these troublous times. For the position of leader, however, he was not qualified. He was more a man of learning, a good professor, a fine epitomizer and an author of textbooks. But he lacked the clear eye necessary to distinguish intricate problems. He laid great stress upon a fixed phraseology, and tried to compromise differences by *indefinite phrases.* He lacked the heroic faith and immovable stability of Luther. His greatest weakness was his willingness to conclude peace under any conditions. He was ready to accept ambiguous phrases in the place of clear confessions, if the other side was satisfied. The result of these peculiarities of the man at the head of affairs from 1546-1560 was that he **could not rally** all parts of the Lutheran

[536] Cf, monograph pp. 34-37.

Church around himself, but gradually most genuine Lutherans looked with distrust and suspicion upon him. Other leaders arose and upheld the standards of Lutheransim, and gathered parts of the Church around themselves. When Melanchthon finally died, weary of the strife, which he himself had occasioned, the **damage** had been done, and the Lutheran Church had to suffer the consequences.

Melanchthon was willing to make a compromise with Romanism in meeting the *Augsburg Interim* (which he could not accept) by formulating the Lutheran doctrine in very vague terms which Liberal Romanists might accept or interpret in their own sense, and by conceding partial restoration of the Catholic ceremonial. He permitted his name and authority to be used by Elector Maurice for his purposes in the *Leipzig Interim*.[537]

**2. The Opponents of Melanchthon's Concessions.** His pupil, **Matthias Flacius,** became the mouthpiece of those who protested against such concessions. This splendidly gifted man tried his very best to restrain his teacher from falling into the snares of the politicians. And when this was in vain, he attacked boldly at first the Augsburg, and then also the Leipzig Interim. He **aroused public consciousness** to such an extent that the Elector Maurice felt the pressure of public opinion to such an extent that he decided to undo his evil work by becoming the head of the anti-Imperialists. But Melanchthon's pupils defended not only the course of their leader, but also the ambiguous phrases of the Interim, and thus precipitated several **doctrinal controversies.** The adiaphoristic controversy dragged on long after the Interim had disappeared. Flacius and his party de-

[537] Cf. monograph pp. 38-44.

manded that Melanchthon should openly confess the error of his ways and should promise not to repeat such a thing in future. This the side of Melanchthon refused to do.[538]

**3. The Parties and Factions.** On the one hand we find the party of Melanchthon, generally called the *Philippistic party*. This party defended the policy of their teacher, and after his death championed phrases which he had used; in part they *misunderstood* and *misinterpreted* them, and produced a doctrine for which Melanchthon should not be held responsible. They followed him in his compromise endeavors; they were willing to make peace with the Calvinists, and finally embraced Calvinistic doctrines, even while they still posed as defenders and champions of pure and genuine Lutheranism. This party had its stronghold in the universities of **Wittenberg and Leipzig.**

The opposite extreme was the *party of Flacius*, the genuine adherents of Luther, as they called themselves *(Gnesio-Lutherans)*. They likewise fanatically defended phrases of Luther or of their own production, and thereby also were ensnared in error. They controlled the university of **Jena** in ducal Saxony, but had adherents in all parts of Germany.

Between these two extremes stood a very large part of the Lutheran Church which rejected the special peculiarities of both extremes, and retained the common possessions of Luther and Melanchthon. These Luthero-Philippists were predominant in Southern and Northern Germany, and their universities were **Tuebingen and Rostock.**[539]

---

[538] Cf. monograph pp. 45-49.
[539] Cf. monograph pp. 55-63.

### 3. Doctrinal Controversies.

For details see the historical introduction to each article.

**1. The Interimistic or Adiaphoristic Controversy.** The most important features have been mentioned. Melanchthon had been frightened into consenting to a compromise Interim, by which the Lutheran doctrine had been retained in a most indefinite form, but Romanist ceremonies had been introduced and made obligatory. The pretense was that *these matters were non-essential.* Flacius attacked the position of Melanchthon, and contended that under the conditions of the times these non-essentials had become confessional tokens. He held that through these concessions to the Romanists Lutheranism had been practically denied. On his side stood almost the whole outside world; only Saxony and Brandenburg defended Melanchthon's policy. With the revolt of Maurice and the Augsburg Peace, the Interim itself became a dead issue. But the controversy in regard to the principles at stake was continued for a long time.

**2. The Osiandristic Controversy.** This controversy broke out when Andreas Osiander, dismissed on account of his opposition to the Augsburg Interim at Nuernberg, proposed a new *doctrine of justification.* Christ, the personified righteousness of God, when He comes through faith into the human heart overshadows all unrighteousness and impels man to all kinds of good works. Melanchthon and Flacius agreed in the rejection of this construction by which the judicial declaration is entirely eliminated.

**3. The Majorisitc Controversy.** Major, professor at Wittenberg, defended the phrase in the Leipzig Interim: *"Good works are necessary unto salvation,"*

against the bitter attacks of the Flacianists. Melanchthon rejected the phrase, and merely taught the necessity of good works, because God commands them. Amsdorf also attacked his associate Menius when he refused to condemn Major, whose works Menius had not read, and formulated the phrase: "Good works are *detrimental* to salvation."

**4. The Antinomistic Controversy.** Already before the composition of the Augsburg Confession, John Agricola, a friend of Melanchthon, had denied the necessity of the Law in the *process of conversion*. Later on, when Luther had him called as professor to Wittenberg, he secretly attacked Luther's doctrine of the Law (see the introduction to the Smalcald Articles in regard to "false brethren"). Luther finally induced him to recant. Another antinomistic controversy arose by the misinterpretation of the word "Gospel". Besides this a question arose about the use of the Law after conversion.

**5. The Synergistic Controversy.** Pfeffinger and Victorin Strigel (misinterpreting the Melanchthonian phrase of the *three "causes"*) claimed that man co-operates in conversion, and expressly denied the doctrine of total depravity of human nature before conversion.

**6. The Flacian Controversy.** In refuting synergism, Flacius claimed that *human nature has become sin* (he meant really: utterly sinful), and that the substance of man is sin (really: the human nature exists only in the corrupted form). This declaration was opposed alike by the Philippists and the Gnesio-Lutherans.

**7. The Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy.** The unionistic policy of Melanchthon's successors precipitated a controversy on the doctrine of the *Person of Christ and the Lord's Supper*. Yet the Philippists did

not openly reject Luther's doctrine, but pretended that they retained it. Yet by correspondence they tried to devise a way by which the Reformed cause could be best promoted in Saxony, and laid snares for the good Elector August. Their schemes were finally unmasked, and they were deposed and severely punished.

### 4. Vain Efforts at Unification.

**1. Vain Efforts of the Princes.** The princes, by the Treaty of Augsburg 1555, had been made the official representatives of the Lutheran Church in their countries. They tried to mediate between the different factions.

(a) The first one to do so was **Duke Christopher** of Wurtemberg. He sent, in 1555, an embassy to ducal Saxony which should learn the conditions under which the theologians there were willing to lay by all past controversies. The Gnesio-Lutherans demanded unconditional surrender and an open confession that so far the Philippists had been wrong. Of course this embassy could not proceed, but returned without achieving anything.

(b) Later, in 1558, the same prince had occasion to meet other princes at Frankfurt. Here the dissensions among the theologians were also discussed. The suggestion was made to formulate a series of declarations which should decide the matter. Melanchthon, who was also present, received the instruction to formulate such statements. These are the **"Frankfurt Recess".** The princes furthermore agreed that they would not employ any one deposed on account of false doctrine and that all books should be censored. But when they tried to gain the signatures of other rulers, a storm of protest

arose: The statements were too vague, the censorship was decried as tyranny.

(c) The princes now abandoned the idea of having a statement formulated which was to settle the controversies. A new plan was proposed: Let all subscribe to the Augsburg Confession of 1531, and require their ministers to teach according to it. A meeting was called at **Naumburg** in 1561. Almost all the Lutheran princes were present either in person or by proxy. But at once the question arose: Which is the authentic text of the Augsburg Confession? The elector of the Palatinate argued that the edition of 1540 was amplified and revised by the author; hence it presents the most perfect form of the confession and should be chosen. But his son-in-law the Gnesio-Lutheran John Frederick, duke of Saxony, brought a manuscript written at Augsburg and demanded that it should be the standard text. Then the princes went to work to examine the various texts; they compared the various readings and noted the differences. Notwithstanding the urgent protest of the elector of the Palatinate, the printed edition of 1531 was chosen. But — as a concession — an introduction was added in which the edition of 1540 was named as the best interpretation; this introduction had been composed by the Crypto-Calvinists. John Frederick left the meeting in disgust. Others sided with him. Elector Frederick soon formally embraced Calvanism. Matters had become worse through these vain efforts.[540]

**2. Futile Efforts of Theologians.** (1) **Flacius** himself made the first efforts to bridge over the differences between himself and Melanchthon. He addressed Melanchthon in writing. Melanchthon confessed that he

[540] For details see monograph pp. 67-68, 82-91.

had sinned in his adiaphoristic measures. But he would not accept the suggestion of Flacius that a joint public statement should be issued in which the various differences were settled. (2) Flacius now induced the **neutral theologians** of Northern Germany (or Lower Saxony) to offer their services as mediators. They discussed the matter with Flacius and with Melanchthon and offered written suggestions. They requested him to issue a written statement of his position. But the old man, influenced by his young fanatical friends, absolutely refused to continue the negotiations. A proposal in the same direction, which was made by the duke of Mecklenburg, was summarily rejected by the Preceptor.[541]

**3. Andreae's Vain Attempts to Unite All Parties.** (a) Time dragged on, and the condition of affairs became more scandalous. The Romanists boasted that the cause of Lutheranism would soon be lost; they claimed that no two Lutheran preachers held exactly the same doctrine. But the bitterness prevailing on both sides gave no hope for an end of the ecclesiastical war. Finally, in 1559, Jakob Andreae made a new attempt. He had been delegated by Prince Christopher of Wurttemberg to assist Chemnitz in organizing the churches of the duchy of Brunswick, when (after the death of old Henry) Julius introduced Lutheranism. Andreae on this occasion called on many prominent theologians in Northern and Middle Germany, and discussed conditions with them. He drew up **"Six Articles** on the previous controversies", which contained merely a brief positive statement; no doctrine was expressly condemned. He received many subscriptions, but the parties that he

[541] Cf. monograph pp. 68-81.

needed most — the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Philippists —absolutely rejected them as unsatisfactory. The attempt was a failure.[542]

(b) Andreae now selected another course. He abandoned the idea of formulating a document as basis of union. But if all would **accept certain standards** as normative, an agreement might possibly be reached. Hence he was the originator of a convention at **Zerbst** in 1570. Here the proposition was made to recognize the books upon which the Church of Brunswick had been organized as normative: the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Catechisms and the Smalcald Articles. These were declared to be "the certain and infallible rule by which, not only the past controversies, but also future ones should be decided". The theologians of *Wittenberg and Leipzig* had to attend this meeting at the order of their elector. But in accepting these standards at the end of the consultations, they added the remark that they interpreted them according to their *Corpus Misnicum*. This established for all who had not yet clearly seen the duplicity of these men that they really (as charged by their opponents) abandoned the historical Lutheran doctrine and were inclining towards Calvinism. Poor Andreae fared worst; he was suspected as being insincere. The idea spread that he had known of the insincerity of the Saxons, and had tried to smooth over the matter, since he had vouched for them. He was sorely undeceived, and now clearly saw how things were shaping themselves. Under these conditions he could do no more.[543]

---

[542] Cf. monograph pp. 91-94.
[543] Cf. monograph pp. 94-97.

## 5. The Work of Unification.

**1. Andreae Intends to Unite all Lutherans.** In 1573 a series of sermons preached by Andreae concerning the various sects outside of the Lutheran Church was to be issued in a second edition. He added to this book in the same form a new part on the controversies within the Lutheran Church: **"Six Sermons** concerning the Divisions which have gradually arisen among theologians of the Augsburg Confession from the year 1548 to 1573". He dedicated his book to the Duke of Brunswick and sent copies to a number of theologians in Lower Saxony. He requested them to approve his statements and to state whether the sermons might be made a document of agreement. The replies which he received were all favorable; but the suggestion was made that the form of thetical statements should be used. Andreae at once recast his sermons. The faculty of Tuebingen approved them as correct (March 1574). This document has been called **"Swabian Concord"**.[544]

**2. The Gradual Development of the Formula of Concord.** (a) Duke Julius of Brunswick now took up this matter with great zeal. He spent almost a fortune in the interest of this undertaking. **Chemnitz** was commissioned to act as his representative in all cities of Lower Saxony. He should try to get all to accept these articles. In order to make them more acceptable he **revised** them, and in some instances substituted presentations which had been adopted at synodical conventions in that district; this made matters much easier. A number of conventions were held, and the matter was favorably received, since it had such an honored sponsor.

---

[544] Cf. monograph pp. 97-100.

The articles were referred to the clergy of the various cities with the direction that any remarks, amendments, etc., were to be referred to the theological faculty at Rostock. It should digest these memorandums and eventually improve the draft.[545]

(b) The clerical work was mostly done by Chytraeus, the foremost theologian in the faculty, and the result of his labors is known as the **"Swabian-Saxon Concord".** The short and popular statement of Andreae had been somewhat amplified by Chemnitz. When it left the hands of the Rostock faculty, it had become quite bulky and was embellished with numerous Latin terms and sections. It was referred back to the various cities. Chemnitz once more presented it to various conventions. It found universal approval. Of course this took considerable time. It finally was returned to Wuertemberg in October, 1575, with the request that Andreae now should secure the signatures of the clergy in Swabia; then he should return it to the North, where it would also be signed, and then put into print as the agreement of the Northern and Southern Lutherans.[546]

(c) Two years had passed since Andreae submitted his draft. Meanwhile another doctrinal statement had been drawn up. The new duke of Wuertemberg, Louis, and Markgrave Karl of Baden, together with the old Count Ernest of Henneberg, proposed to present a statement of the genuine Lutheran doctrine to the elector of Saxony by which he might test the orthodoxy of his theologians. Lucas Osiander and Bidembach had composed this statement, named **"Maulbrunn Formula".** Here the relevant article of the Augsburg Confession is

[545] Cf. monograph pp. 100-101.
[546] Monograph pp. 102-104.

quoted. Next the Scripture passages concerning the doctrine under discussion are reviewed, and finally quotations from the Apology, the Smalcald Articles and the Catechisms of Luther are adduced corroborating the statement of the Augsburg Confession.[547]

(d) But before this Maulbrunn Formula had been handed to the elector, he had already unmasked his theologians, and found ample proof of their guilt in their correspondence. At the suggestion of his estates, he now reuested Andreae, Chemnitz, Chytraeus, Musculus and Coerner to meet twelve Saxon representatives in order to formulate a new confession concerning the recent intra-Lutheran disagreements. He submitted to them both Formulas. Since the Swabian-Saxon Formula had been carefully discussed and accepted by the Northern Lutherans, it was preferred to the Maulbrunn Formula which Andrae preferred on account of its simplicity. This commission very carefully discussed the matter and revised it by eliminating or translating the Latin passages. Suitable portions of the Maulbrunn Formula were inserted. The product of the convention is the **"Torgau Book".**[548]

(e) The elector of Saxony now approached the other Lutheran princes and cities with the proposition that a new Confession should be adopted as the common standard of Lutheran orthodoxy. He furnished manuscript copies of the Torgau Book with the request that any suggestions should be made. Andreae, Chemnitz, Selneccer and Chytraeus were instructed to go over the criticisms. The final revision was made at Bergen, near Magdeburg in 1576. Hence the final form is called

[547] Monograph pp. 105-107.
[548] Monograph pp. 107-111.

**"Bergen Book".** Here at Bergen Andreae presented a brief extract containing merely thetical and antithetical declarations, since many had complained that the book was too long. This was made the first part of the Bergen Book; it is now known as *the Epitome.*[549]

3. The Adoption and Publication. (a) The elector now submitted this Formula of Concord to the Lutheran princes and city councils as the *legal and official representatives* of the respective communities. He requested them to join him in the adoption of this Confession which from now on was to be the final test of Lutheran orthodoxy and the authoritative interpretation of the Augusburg Confession. Acting as the representative of the local divisions of the Lutheran Church, as stipulated by the treaty of Passau, the rulers consulted their theological advisers, and after the approval by these, they attached their signatures. *Thus the Formula of Concord according to the constitution of the Lutheran Church in Germany became a confessional book of these states.*

(b) The semi-centennial of the adoption of the Augsburg Confession was approaching. Hence it was agreed among the princes that an authentic edition of all Symbolical Books of Lutheranism should be **published on June 25, 1580.** This was done; the first edition was printed at Dresden. It was reprinted at other places in that year and has been published repeatedly since.

(c) The different rulers, after they had signed the Formula of Concord, had required their professors, ministers and others in public office to declare themselves in regard to the new confessional book. This had the same significance as when in our days synods require

[549] Monograph pp. 111-113.

candidates for ordination to subscribe to their constitutions. Those that refused to subscribe (and there were almost none at all) were suspended, and finally deposed from office as persons who could no longer be in the service of the Lutheran Church. Of course those princes who were under the influence of un-Lutheran theologians refused to adopt the new Confession and forbade any of their subjects to accept it.[550]

[550] Monograph, pp. 118-121.

# B. SYNOPSIS OF THE FORMULA OF CONCORD.

## Part One.

### The Epitome.

Every article of the Epitome consists of three parts:

(1) The statement of the controversy;

(2) The statement of the correct doctrine;

(3) The statement of the false doctrines.

Being so simple, it is not necessary to give an analysis.

## Part Two.

### The Comprehensive Summary.

#### I. Introduction.[661]

1. Preliminary Statement.

We renew our approval of the Augsburg Confession as presented to Charles I. as the pure symbol of doctrine, and do not intend to accept any other doctrine (1-5).

But since some nominal adherents of this confession have caused controversies concerning various points of doctrine, we consider it necessary to establish the correct understanding of the confession (6-10).

2. The Standards for such Decision.

An authoritative compend of the correct doctrine is necessary; hence we accept as a standard compend for the following decision those official statements that were in existence before the above mentioned controversies originated, and thus we recognize:

1. The Scriptures as the only source and rule of Christian life and doctrine (3).

[661] Cf. monograph p. 129.

2. The Oecumenical Symbols as confessions of the ancient Church against the corruptions of that time (4).
3. The Augsburg Confession as the symbol of our time against the corruptions of the Romanists and sects (5).
4. The Apology as an interpretation and proof of the same (6).
5. The Smalcald Articles as a final interpretation of the same, prepared as a statement upon those articles on which the Lutherans would stand to the end (7).
6. The two Catechisms of Luther as popular presentations of the same doctrine (8).

Further explanations of the doctrine condensed in these official statements may be taken from Luther's writings and those of other pure teachers (subject to the official authority of the confessions). From these a decision concerning the controversies can readily be reached (9-13).

### 3. The Antitheses.

It is not sufficient for pure teaching to show what is true, but error must also be named as such (14). We make a distinction between wrangling about words and necessary controversies against real errors (15). Though the documents named above show the rejected errors, we plainly state that we reject: (1) The errors rejected by the ancient Church as un-Christian; (2) The errors rejected in the Lutheran confessions named above (18); (3) In regard to the recent controversies, antitheses will be added to the various articles (19-20).

## Article I. Qn Original Sin.[552]

### A. Historical Introduction.

In the home of Gnesio-Lutheranism, ducal Saxony, a book had been compiled by which all the errors of that time had been carefully catalogued and condemned (the *Weimar Book of Confutations).* All ministers and professors were ordered to attest their orthodoxy by affixing their signatures. One of the professors at the university of Jena, *Victorin Strigel,* refused to do so because

[552] Cf. monograph pp. 132-140.

the coöperation of man in conversion had been condemned as a Philippistic error. He was suspended and a disputation was held in the presence of the duke at Weimar between the accused and Flacius.

In the course of this disputation Strigel claimed that sin was a mere accident and not a substance: it was not a total corruption of man's spiritual powers, but merely a suspension. Flacius challenged the whole assertion and claimed that **sin has become the substance of man.** When, in later years, he developed and published the same assertion his former associates rejected this statement and abandoned their former leader. The leaders of Lutheranism in the North likewise openly denounced this doctrine as Manichaean. When the Gnesio-Lutherans, driven from ducal Saxony by the administrator August, were recalled, Flacius was not reinstated.

In order to do justice to Flacius we must go back of his phraseology and grasp his real meaning. He distinguishes between two kinds of *"substances":* the *substantia materialis* and the *substantia formalis.* The *substantia materialis* is that of which something is composed, f. i., glass is composed of silica and sodium, man consists of body and soul. The *substantia formalis* is the form or condition in which this "substance" is to be found; glass may exist in the shape of a lump, a pane or a tumbler, etc. Man's condition may be that of perfect purity or corruption, and his present *substantia formalis* is that of corruption through innate sin. We must also keep in mind that Flacius was a Hebrew scholar of eminence, and hence the Hebrew way of exchanging an adjective for a noun had become second nature with him; hence instead of saying "Man has be-

come utterly corrupted by sin", he says, "Man has become sin".

So the doctrine of Flacius was much more orthodox than his phraseology. His *real "heresy"* was that he did not speak as other men speak, but insisted that they must speak as he did. When Andreae tried to win him for his unification work, he found that there was no difference in regard to the doctrine itself as long as they used other terms. Flacius stubbornly refused to abandon his phraseology. But adherents of Flacius defended his statements in their literal sense.

The first article re-establishes the doctrine so clearly expressed in the second article of the Augsburg Confession in the two prepositions *sine* and *cum*. It shows that a distinction must be made between (1) the nature of man which he had before the fall and will have after his glorification, and (2) the present corruption of his nature. The doctrine presented in this article is the Lutheran doctrine in its Scriptural purity.

**B.Synopsis of the Contents.**

1. The controversy (1-2).
2. The Lutheran doctrine.
   (1) Not only the sinful actions, but also the innate corruption of human nature is sin (5).
   (2) God is not the author of sin, but of nature (6).
   (3) The character of corruption must be learned from the Scriptures, and is briefly presented in the Apology in respect to its universality (9), its negative side — *sine* (10), its positive corruption—*cum* (11), its consequences (12), and the remedy (13).
3. Antitheses: Against synergism, etc. (14-25); against Flacianism (26-32).
4. A distinction must be made between human nature and the corruption of human nature (33), on account of the

doctrine of creation (34-42), redemption (43-44), sanctification (45), and resurrection (46-49).

5. Decision in regard to the terms "substance" and "accidence" (50-62).

## Article II. On Free Will (Conversion).[553]

### A. Historical Introduction.

The pupils of Melanchthon (already during his last years) misunderstood their teacher and adhering to his phraseology, developed into a heresy. In the Augsburg Confession (see especially in the Apology, Article XII) Melanchthon had defined "conversion" as "repentance", which, according to the Lutheran doctrine, is the product of the Law and Gospel. Repentance or conversion is composed of two parts wrought by the Holy Spirit in the human soul: contrition and faith. Later on, however, following his traditionalistic propensities, Melanchthon used the term "conversion" in the wider sense of Augustine to denote the whole change wrought by the Spirit throughout the entire life of a man, both before and after justification.

His pupils did not notice and realize this change and its significance, and developed his new phrases into a new doctrine, which is called "synergism". They claimed that man co-operates in "conversion" as soon as the Spirit has commenced his work in the human heart. They admitted that man has lost the power to turn to God or to come to Christ, but they claimed that his natural powers have been merely suspended; as soon as the Spirit begins His work, these powers may be utilized "to some extent". Hence it is not true that man is utterly corrupted or dead in sin; he is merely *wounded* and *weakened* to a high degree. Hence, even

[553] Cf. monograph pp. 141-153.

before justification, he can co-operate and contribute "something" towards his conversion.

This doctrine was rejected by the Lutherans as a relapse into Roman semi-Pelagianism. But the Philippists for some time tried to defend it and the controversy was one of the most bitter of the series.

**B. Synopsis of the Contents.**

1. The controversy: Can man co-operate by innate powers and contribute anything when God brings him into His kingdom? (1-5).
2. A short synopsis of the Lutheran doctrine on this question (6-7).
3. (*Ante conversionem*). Man cannot co-operate, for:
   (1) He has no innate powers (*sine*), (8-16).
   (2) He is utterly corrupted (*cum*), (17-25).
   (3) Conversion is entirely and wholly ascribed to God alone (25-27).
   This is the historical doctrine of the Lutheran Church (28-45).
4. (*In conversione*). In what way does God work conversion?
   (1) God's means for conversion are the Law and the Gospel (46-53).
   (2) Through these means God works contrition and faith (54).
   (3) We must rely on God and His promise and not on human agents or our consciousness (55).
   (4) Those that despise the means of grace thereby work their own damnation (57-61).
5. (*Post conversionem*). After conversion man can co-operate in so far as he is a new creature (65-72).
6. Antitheses:
   (1) Against the Stoics and Manichaeans (74).
   (2) Against the Pelagians, etc. (75-79).
   (3) Against the Enthusiasts (80-85).
7. Decision in regard to specific phrases.
   (1) The phrases from Basil, etc., should not be used, as they are synergistic in their original sense (86-88).

(2) The "purely passive" used by Luther means that man is to be converted without his co-operation (89).
(3) The Melanchthonian phrase of the "three causes" is ambiguous, and hence must be avoided (90).[554]

### Article III. On Justification.[555]

#### A. Historical Introduction.

The doctrine of justification had been taught by Augustine with an emphasis and clearness as never before since the times of the apostles. His own personal experience had taught him to understand the Scriptural doctrine that divine grace through faith makes us children of God. And still he did not succeed in grasping the Scriptural terms in their full sense. He was a poor Greek scholar, and interpreted the Pauline term "justification" according to Latin etymology: to render or make just. He proved absolutely from the Scriptures that it is God wholly and solely who makes the beginning, who continues the work, and who brings it to a good end. But, besides becoming the champion of the truth in respect to the THAT, he introduced his own ideas in regard to the HOW of God's work. He taught an absolute predestination unto life and an irresistible efficacy of grace.

---

[554] The "order of salvation" as presented by the Formula of Concord contains only three parts: Conversion, justification and sanctification. It includes under the term "conversion" both contrition and faith. It takes this term as a synonym of such scripture words as: regeneration, illumination, enlivenment, calling, etc. The old Lutheran dogmaticians of the 17th century in their systematic presentation were not satisfied with only three grades or steps of the order of salvation and hence distinguished between the call, illumination, regeneration, and conversion. But the method of the Formula of Concord is to be preferred, since it is the method of Scriptures. It also makes the whole matter exceedingly plain and simple.

[555] Cf. monograph pp. 154-160.

Augustine used the term "justification" for the **whole** work which God effects from the very beginning to the final entry of the soul into heaven. Luther and Melanchthon had learned the way of salvation in part from Augustine. They were, to some extent, influenced by his terminology. Yet we see a difference; they **limit** it to the work of God by which man becomes a child of God. In other words: they use it to express what our dogmaticians now treat under the headings of "conversion" and "justification". A clear example of this is the article on justification in the Apology.

Osiander, the Reformer of Nuernberg, differed from Luther, and when he became professor of theology in Koenigsberg, Prussia, he proposed a **new construction** of the doctrine of justification which was somewhat related to the views of medieval mysticism. His doctrine is: Christ is the personified righteousness of God. Through faith he enters the human heart and makes it His habitation. The righteousness of Christ overshadows human unrighteousness, as the sun makes the stars fade, when it rises. Christ living in man's heart through faith, furthermore, impels him to do works that are acceptable to God. What is peculiar to Osiander's doctrine are not the component parts, but the composition, the combination of these doctrinal elements. In this way he produced a doctrine that was new, and which abandoned the deeper insight into the Scriptural truth as brought out by Luther.

The controversy which took place caused the Lutheran theologians to **distinguish clearly** between what precedes and what follows after justification. In this way they formulated the doctrine of Luther technically in the correct Scriptural way.

**B. Synopsis of the Contents.**

PART I.

1. Statement of the question (1-3).
2. A synopsis of the Lutheran doctrine (8-16).
3. A discussion of the term "justify" and similar terms (17-21).
4. The relation of justification to "conversion" and "sanctification" (22-31).
5. The difference between imputed righteousness and our own Christian righteousness (32-43).
6. Antitheses (44-53).

PART II.

1. The doctrine of inhabitation (54-58).
2. Antitheses.

## Article IV. On Good Works.[556]

### A. Historical Introduction.

In the Leipzig Interim the statement had been made that good works are necessary to salvation. This assertion was defended by Prof. Geo. Major, one of the colaborers of Luther and Melanchthon. This gave occasion to the Majoristic controversy. The Philippistic party was accused of having thereby corrupted the doctrine of justification. Melanchthon refused to sanction the phrase, but he would not condemn the author. He emphasized (as he had done in the Augsburg Confession) the necessity of good works after justification as evidences of faith and in obedience to God's will.

Amsdorf, a leader of the Gnesio-Lutherans, in a later phase of the controversy, uttered the statement: "Good works are detrimental to salvation;" but his associates understood him, he meant it: If a Christian begins to trust in his good works instead of Christ, he loses what he has.

---

[556] Cf. monograph pp. 161-166.

Some confusion was also caused by the different uses of the terms "necessary" and "voluntary". The Formula of Concord here decides that the statement of Major is false. It brings out the Lutheran doctrine concerning good works and their significance in a clear way.

#### B. Synopsis of the Contents.

1. The controversy (1-6).
2. Points of perfect agreement (7-12).
3. In what sense good works are "necessary" (13-20).
4. Good works do not *produce* righteousness before God (21-29).
5. Good works do not *retain* righteousness before God (30-36).
6. Rejection of Amsdorf's phrase (37-40).

### Article V. On the Law and the Gospel.[557]

#### A. Historical Introduction.

One of the controversies which clearly shows the traditionalistic tendency of the pupils of Melanchthon is decided by this article. Melanchthon had used the word "Gospel" not infrequently in a wider sense, that is, instead of the "Word of God", of which the Gospel is the most important part. His pupils did not understand his terminology, and defended it in its literal sense. They developed a new doctrine by stating that repentance is produced by the Gospel and not by the Law. For this they were attacked. In this controversy the question under discussion is the second use of the Law, and the special work of the Gospel.

In the decision of the Formula of Concord the clear distinction made by Luther is formulated. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that the two parts of the Word must always be preached in the Church, but that they must

[557] Cf. monograph pp. 166-172.

be clearly distinguished. This is the genuine doctrine of the Augsburg Confession.

#### B. Synopsis of the Contents.

1. The Controversy (1-2).
2. The term "Gospel" is used in a twofold sense (3-6)
   (1) It designates the Word of God and includes both the Law and the Gospel;
   (2) It designates in its specific sense merely the blessed message of grace.
   A parallel to this is the double use of the word "repentance," which is used in a wider sense (contrition and faith) and a narrower sense (contrition) (7-9).
3. Both the Law and the Gospel must be retained in the Church (10-15).
   (1) The Law shows and condemns sin, reveals God's wrath, etc., and also condemns infidelity (16-20).
   (2) The Gospel in the specific sense includes every form in which grace is offered, and brings consolation (21-22).
   (3) Both have always been taught in the church and must be retained unmixed (23-27).

### Article VI. On the Third Use of the Law.[558]

#### A. Historical Introduction.

Among the Gnesio-Lutherans a difference arose in regard to the use of the Law after conversion. A number of teachers claimed that the Law is of use only for conversion, but Christians do not need the Law, for they willingly do the will of God. The Spirit, not the Law, impels them. Over against this assertion (antinomism), Flacius, Moerlin, Wigand, Westphal, etc., distinguished a three-fold use of the Law: (1) It must curb crime amongst men and produce a decent life in civil affairs; (2) In conversion it must convict man of his sinful acts and sinful condition and produce contri-

[558] Cf. monograph pp. 172-174.

tion; (3) After conversion it must be the rule and standard for the Christian life, else Christians might select works of their own choice and set up a human standard of righteousness.

In the Formula of Concord the antinomistic view is rejected as un-Lutheran and the doctrine of the third use of the Law is shown to be the Scriptural doctrine, also preached by Luther.

#### B. Synopsis of the Contents.

1. The controversy (1-3).
2. Christians are not under the compulsion of the Law, but under the direction of the Spirit (4-5). But they continually need the chastisement of the Law on account of their sins (6-9).
3. The Law reveals also to the Christians what God demands of them, but does not bring the power to obey it; this comes from the Gospel (10-14).
4. Hence Christians need both (15-21).
5. The works demanded by God are acceptable to him because they are the fruits of faith (22-26).

### Article VII. On the Lord's Supper.[559]

#### A. Historical Introduction.

The controversy decided by this article is generally known as the "crypto-Calvinist" controversy. The Crypto-Calvinists (or secret Calvinists) were pupils of Melanchthon, who drew the full conclusions from Melanchthon's unionistic position. Melanchthon's dependence upon the old Church and fathers (his traditionalism), and the desire to keep all Protestants together under all conditions, induced him to recede from the position of Luther in regard to the Lord's Supper. He never renounced Luther's doctrine; on the contrary,

[559] Cf. monograph pp. 175-202.

he professed it to the end. But he tried to coin expressions which might be used as well for the old doctrine as for that of Luther and for that of Calvin. He thought it was sufficient to say: Christ is truly substantially present (*vere et substantialiter adest,* 1558), or: He is truly and bodily present in the Sacrament (*vere adest sacramento et corporaliter,* 1560).

But after Luther's death a group of men grew up under Melanchthon and gathered around him and greatly influenced him, who were more philosophers than theologians. They lacked entirely the heroic faith of Luther. They did not understand how he could stand so immovable upon his doctrine. And when Calvinism came more and more into the foreground they, like Melanchthon, were willing to meet it half-way and more.

Among the Reformed, Calvin had succeeded in combining the German and French Swiss under the leadership of Geneva. The doctrine of Zwingli that the Lord's Supper is a *mere* confessional act by which Christians show their faith had been amended by the Calvinistic doctrine that the Sacrament is an *assurance* of divine grace to the believers (i. e., the "elect"). Calvin taught: Christ is also in the sacrament a spiritual food for the soul of the believer. He tried to adapt himself to Luther as far as possible and even used such phrases as "body and blood of Christ are given to us", but his meaning was: through faith we receive the blessings and benefits acquired by Christ in His death and suffering. Everything (according to Calvin) depends upon faith of the communicant; if the communicant has faith, then Christ is present for him; if he has not, then he receives merely bread and wine. This Calvinistic doctrine had been formulated as a confession in 1550 in the *Consensus*

*Tigurinus*. And now the aggressive Calvinists tried to spread their doctrine also to Germany.

### The Westphal Controversy.

Joachim Westphal, of Hamburg, was the first to notice the difference of doctrine in spite of the similar phrase. He pointed out the fact that the Swiss theologians really agreed only on one point: "Luther's doctrine of the real presence is wrong", and that there was no real agreement among them concerning the interpretation of the Scripture. Calvin replied in a harsh, rude and un-Christian way to this attack upon his theology. But the alarm sounded by Westphal showed that, notwithstanding the wavering policy of the leader, the doctrine of Luther still had its uncounted adherents in all parts of Germany. The Church of the Reformation was not yet ready to surrender to the Swiss party.

### The Bremen Controversy.

Among those who came forward in support of Westphal was also Timan, of Bremen. He complained (1555) that there were traitors also in the Lutheran ranks, — men who spoke in the words of Luther and believed another doctrine. His associate, Hardenberg, one of the men whom Timan had in mind (a humanist who had come from the Netherlands to Bremen), thereupon directly attacked the Lutheran doctrine of omnipresence, as if the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist were based upon it. He claimed that Luther himself had admitted that he had overdone matters in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Melanchthon refused to take sides in this controversy. Then the Northern cities (Lower Saxony), which had formed an alliance, took up the matter and referred the controversy to a synod; but

Hardenberg refused to have his orthodoxy examined. He had to leave Bremen. Heshusius, just then expelled from the Palatinate on account of his Lutheranism, was called to Bremen.

### The Controversy in the Palatinate.

In the Palatinate, the Elector, Otto Heinrich (Ottheinrich), had introduced the Lutheran Reformation. In 1555 he applied to Melanchthon for a good Lutheran theologian who should stand at the head of his state Church. Melanchthon recommended Heshusius, concerning whose Lutheranism there could be no doubt. Heshusius very soon found that secret Calvinists were laying their plans to bring the Palatinate into the Calvinistic camp. He exerted himself to the utmost to counteract their influence. But the Lutheran Elector died before the Lutheran Church had been firmly planted. An open scandalous clash[560] between Heshusius and Klebitz induced the new elector to dismiss both Heshusius and Klebitz. Melanchthon suggested vague and ambiguous formulas. The Elector, surrounded by secret Calvinists, inclined more and more to the Swiss side. After he had been the great speaker at the convention of Naumberg, he openly went over to the Calvinist side and "reformed" the state Church, that is, he cleansed it from "Romanist remnants retained by Luther", as the Reformed claimed.

### The Crisis in Saxony.

After the death of Melanchthon, the Philippists inclined more and more towards the Calvinistic side. The

[560] Heshusius refused to administer communion in common with Klebitz, because he knew him to be a secret Calvinist. When Klebitz, nevertheless, came to the altar Heshusius took the chalice out of his hands. Klebitz then waylaid his superintendent, and would have flogged him outside of the church doors if others had not interfered.

Elector left no doubt that he was a Lutheran, and would not abandon the Church of Luther. Hence, these theologians had to be very careful not to betray their position. This was not an easy matter, for again and again parties from the outside came with questions to the University of Luther, requesting theological decisions as to whether certain statements were really Lutheran or not. Furthermore, outsiders denounced these theologians to the Elector as not really Lutheran, and they were called to the court and had to present statements in order to prove that they really were genuine adherents of the Augsburg Confession.

They were conscious — and confessed it to each other — that they were adherents of the "Swiss" doctrine. Nevertheless, they again and again posed as Lutherans. They **knowingly and willingly** violated their oath of office, and misled their prince. They furthermore tried to substitute their doctrinal views for the dominant Lutheran view. A catechism for the higher schools was to prepare the way (1571). But the Elector was warned, and the book was suppressed. Yet they assured him of their Lutheranism, and he believed them.

But finally they were unmasked. A letter intended for the associate and accomplice of these secret Calvinists at court was delivered at the wrong address, and came into the hands of the Lutheran court preacher. He laid the letter before the Elector, since it revealed the further plans of these men. The Elector had them arrested, and confiscated their correspondence, which gave full information concerning their double-dealing and their plans. A book which had been published for private circulation *(Exegesis Perspicua)* fully outlined the position of the party. The Elector assembled the

representatives of the nobility for consultation and laid the documents before them. With their consent and advice he called in outside theologians to draw up an unimpeachable Lutheran declaration. The outcome of this was the Formula of Concord, as stated in the historical part.

**B. Synopsis of the Contents.**

1. The Controversy: (1-41): The Swiss doctrine and exegesis (2-8) and the Lutheran doctrine according to the official documents (9-41).
2. The Lutheran proof from the Scriptures: The Lutheran doctrine is taken from the words of institution and St. Paul's references to the Lord's Supper (42-60).
3. Other matters prominent in the controversy: Spiritual eating (61-67), worthy and unworthy guests (68-72); the cause of the real presence is Christ's command and promise (73-78), and not the consecration (79-82), nor the eating or drinking (83-87), nor the faith of man (88-90).
4. Refutation of arguments of the opponents (91-106).
5. The antitheses (107-128).

## Article VIII. Of the Person of Christ.[561]

**A. Historical Introduction.**

One of the arguments advanced by Zwingli against Luther's doctrine was: Even if the interpretation of Luther is possible, it must be rejected, for Christ cannot be really present for the communicant in a special way. Here a difference between the two leaders in regard to the person of Christ became evident. According to the Reformed conception the two natures of Christ are not really united into a unity, but merely connected. The human nature of Christ since His ascension is supposed to be confined to heaven.

---

[561] Cf. monograph pp. 203-212.

The Reformed as well as the Crypto-Calvinists of that time denied the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's omnipresence as God-Man. They were very bitter in their attacks upon the doctrine of "ubiquity", and maintained that Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper was based upon this doctrine and drawn from it. The same charge was afterwards continually raised against the Formula of Concord.

The Crypto-Calvinists had attacked the Lutheran doctrine of the person of Christ in several writings, and especially in the *Exegesis perspicua*. For this reason a detailed statement of the Lutheran doctrine of the person of Christ and the *communicatio idiomatum* was desirable. The intention is not to prove that the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper is correct (this is proved from the Scriptures), but to refute the argument that the Lutheran doctrine is against the "analogy of faith" and in contradiction to the fact of the Ascension. The correct doctrine concerning the union of natures in Christ and the present state of glorification establish the fact that Christ can do as He has promised to do in the Lord's Supper.

**B. Synopsis of the Contents.**

1. The controversy (1-5).
2. The doctrine concerning the person of Christ.
   Christ has assumed human nature. In the God-Man both natures exist undivided and unchanged, with their peculiar properties. But the human nature has been glorified in the state of exaltation (6-12).
3. The personal union (13-30).
   (1) The resultant union is not a mere combination, as joining two boards (Nestorius), but a true union, as in body and soul.

(2) Hence the passion is the passion of God's Son according to His human nature, and God's Son was born of Mary.

(3) In his exaltation he laid aside his form of humility, and rules also according to his human nature assumed by the person.

4. The communion of properties (31-88).

(1) The result of this union is the doctrine of the communion of properties: (a) The properties of one nature are ascribed to the person (*genus idiomaticum*) (36-45). (b) In his work as Savior the person works through both natures, so that one co-operates with the other (*genus apotelesmaticum*) (46-47). (c) Christ received glory according to his human nature (*genus majestaticum*) (49-52).

(2) The glorification of his human nature as taught by Him.

(a) Alongside of the properties of human nature, Christ has received divine power, judgment, etc., and this is not a phrase, but a fact (53-60).

(b) We reject the errors of olden times (60-63), and teach a real communication, that is, Christ's human nature has received the heavenly majesty, etc., through the personal union (64-70).

(c) In this communion of properties the divine nature loses nothing, the human nature is not deified, but it is an unmeasured gift to the Son according to his human nature (71-75).

(d) Hence he can be present according to his human nature and can fulfil his promise of real presence in the Lord's Supper (76-87).

5. Antitheses (88-96).

## Article IX. On the Descent to Hell.[562]

### A. Historical Introduction.

One of the minor controversies of that time was caused by the Superintendent Aepinus of Hamburg in 1550. In lectures before the clergy he had taught: The

[562] Cf. monograph pp. 213-214.

descent to hell is a part of the work of atonement, and belongs to the state of humiliation. It took place whilst Christ's body lay in the grave. Melanchthon also here avoided a clear statement. Of the Lutheran theologians some were to be found on both sides. Calvin and the Heidelberg Catechism interpret that part of the Creed as a designation of the passion before death.

#### B. Synopsis of the Contents.

In this article it is essential to distinguish, as Luther did, the fact that Christ, the God-Man, descended to hell, overcame the devil and the power of hell, and the manner in which this was done. All speculations in regard to the latter are useless.

In this way we retain the consolation that these enemies cannot harm one who believes in Christ.

### Article X. On the Adiaphora.[563]

#### A. Historical Introduction.

This article decides the principles of the church ceremonies, concerning which Flacius and Melanchthon had differed immediately after the Smalcald War. Melanchthon had permitted himself to be used as a tool of Elector Maurice in formulating the Leipzig Interim, an emendation of the Augsburg Interim. In this document the doctrinal part was fairly correct; it was so wide and ambiguous that the Romanists might be satisfied with its expressions. In the part concerning church rules and church ceremonies great concessions had been made to the Romanists.

Flacius had in vain warned, begged and implored Melanchthon not to lend his aid to this work. He finally resigned his professorship and sought the haven of refuge of persecuted Lutherans (Magdeburg), and at-

[563] Cf. monograph pp. 215-216.

tacked the Leipzig as well as the Augsburg Interim in numerous pamphlets. He denied the plea of Melanchthon that church customs were non-essential and hence concessions to the Romanists were permissible. He claimed that under certain conditions these non-essential customs receive confessional character, and concessions would be denied of truth.

Melanchthon in his correspondence frankly confessed that he had taken the false course in this matter and admitted that Flacius had been the representative of the truth. But he never made this statement in public, and his pupils continued to defend his course as correct. This article decides the matter entirely in the sense of Flacius and against the Philippists.

**B. Synopsis of the Contents.**

1. The controversy (1-3).
2. Statement of the Lutheran doctrine concerning adiaphora:
   (1) We must not classify as adiaphora those things that are against the Word of God (5), nor those ceremonies that would merely produce the appearance of unity (5b), nor those that do not contribute to good order, etc., in the church (7).
   (2) Real adiaphora are not worship in themselves and must be distinguished from it (8).
3. Decision of the controversy:
   (1) Every church has the right and power to change adiaphora in the interest of good order (9).
   (2) But in times of persecution nothing can be conceded even in customs on account of the confession of truth and the conscience of the weak (10-18).
   This is the position of Luther in the Smalcald Articles (19-23) and otherwise (24).
4. Antitheses (25-31).

## Article XI. On Predestination.[564]

### A. Historical Introduction.

The doctrine of predestination had been an important factor in the spiritual life of Luther. During his formative period he had been greatly troubled concerning it in the form in which he had learned it from Augustine and the scholastic teachers of the Catholic Church. He had been taught that God had chosen certain individuals unto salvation; to these He gives His grace and thereby converts, justifies and glorifies them. Only these certain chosen ones receive this gift of grace. When he found in his own life the many imperfections of which he accused himself and when he did not succeed in overcoming the innate corruption of his heart, he concluded that this was clear evidence that he was not among those whom God had chosen to be saved. Otherwise He would have given also to him the power to do what was necessary and to reach perfect holiness. He almost despaired.

His spiritual father, Staupitz, taught him another way of considering this doctrine. He told him to abandon all thoughts of what God might have thought or done in eternity and to direct his attention to Christ; for God has revealed His heart in His Son. If he would find himself "in the wounds" of Christ he would find full assurance of his salvation. Then he would know perfectly what God had planned in regard to him from eternity. Luther gave the same advice to those (and there were many at that time, f. i., Flacius) who were troubled by similar thoughts. He told them that they must err if they *approached* this question by studying

[564] Cf. monograph pp. 217-225.

what God may have planned concerning them from eternity. The *correct* way to learn the truth is not by starting "from above", but **"from below".** They should first of all come to full clearness whether Christ is their Savior or not. Then after they have reached the assurance that Christ has atoned for their sins and has accepted them through faith as children of God, they can *easily reach absolute certainty* as to God's eternal decree towards them. God's eternal predestination was that He would do exactly this that they have found in Christ; this is **their** "eternal predestination".

In the writings of the period before the Formula of Concord we find many most beautiful discussions of this doctrine. Especially in the sermons and ascetic writings this presentation predominates. But the Formula of Concord refers also to the fact that there were other (viz.: speculative) writings. These were to be found especially among the extreme Flacianists.

The article before us is based on a former decision of Andreae in a controversy at Strasburg between the Lutheran Marbach and the Calvinist Zanchi (1561). Chemnitz (or possibly Chytraeus) inserted into the draft of Andreae a presentation as given in the precious Enchiridion of Chemnitz. Hence we have in reality a double presentation of the doctrine: (1) In the words of Chemnitz (13-64), and (2) in the words of Andreae (65-93).

### B. Synopsis of the Contents.

#### I. Preliminary Statement.

1. The reason for inserting this article (1-2).
2. Distinction between "providence" and "predestination":
   (1) **Providence** deals with all creatures (3-4), and all things, but is not the cause of evil (6-7).

(2) **Predestination** deals only with God's children (5), and all good things; it is the cause and source of our salvation and everything that pertains to it (8).

3. The method is not the *a priori* method (of Calvin).
   (1) This would produce either indifference or despair (9-11).
   (2) Whilst the sound doctrine has other results (12).

II. The Presentation of Chemnitz.

1. A synopsis of the whole doctrine considered "from below" (*a posteriori*).
   (1) An analysis of what pertains to the predestination of God (13-22).
   (2) This must be taken in concrete reference to each individual (23).
   (3) All this in the concrete form is the doctrine of predestination to adoption (24).
2. A development and application to every Christian.
   (1) It is to be learned not from reason, nor from the Law, but only from the Gospel (25-29).
   (2) Both the Law and the Gospel are universal and are applied to all (30-31).
   (3) Hence the elect are the children of God (30-31).
   (4) God has promised to them the final glorification, if they remain steadfast unto the end (32-33).
3. The "others": the doctrine of **reprobation.**
   The reason why not all men belong to the association of elect is that they do not accept the free grace of God (34-42).
4. The test of this doctrine (as suggested in paragraph 12) shows it to be in full accord with all other doctrines (43-51).
5. There are also many things **still secret** to us; but we should not concern ourselves with God's secrets (52-64).

III. The Presentation of Andreae.

1. This doctrine has been revealed by Christ as God's messenger (65).
2. Christ teaches it in the Gospel (66-67).
3. This Gospel must be heard and accepted through faith wrought by the Holy Spirit (68-69).

4. Hence we should not speculate concerning the secret will of God, but should hear what Christ reveals concerning God's eternal will and hear his invitation (70), believe in His promised help (71), and be diligent in good works, trusting in His mercy over against the weak (72-75). For it is God who draws to Christ through the Word (76-77).
5. That many are lost is due to their neglect of the means of grace and their rejection of saving grace (78-86).
6. The test of this doctrine is that it gives all glory to God, does not produce despair (87-90), whilst every other doctrine producing another result is against the Word (91-92).
7. We adhere to this plain and useful doctrine and avoid all speculations (93).

### Article XII. On Various Sects.

In this article the various errors outside of the Lutheran Church of that time are briefly reviewed, so that every one might clearly see that the Lutheran Church has nothing in common with their errors. The sects reviewed here are the Anabaptists of that time (9-27), the Swenkfeldians (28-35), The New Arians (36), and the Anti-Trinitarians (37).

### Excursus on the Article of Predestination.

#### The First Mode.

The article as presented here in the Formula of Concord plainly follows the method recommended by Luther, Spangenberg, Bugenhagen and others. The point of view from which the doctrine is considered is that of the child of God. A Christian can and should be *absolutely sure* about the central fact of his salvation which is his by faith. But next to this the question is to be considered: Whence have I my justification, my present and future salvation? The answer given by the Scriptures in answer to this query of the *Christian* is: God in eternity concerned himself, not only with the plan of salvation in general, but also with every detail of its application to the individual. That I now have the atonement of Christ, the

means of grace, the work of the Holy Spirit, justification, sanctification and the promise of my future glorification *is nothing else than the execution of God's eternal decree in its reference to me.* And this is the doctrine of predestination as outlined in article XI.

The *first* peculiarity of this first mode of presentation is: The **standpoint** is taken in the life of the Christian from which the present, past and future is viewed as the *execution of God's eternal decree.*

The *second* characteristic is: From this point of view every person to whom it can be applied (*i. e.,* every true Christian) is an **elect.** This is evident, not only from the absolutely clear and specific declarations of such that use the first mode, but also from the Formula of Concord itself, which uses these terms promiscuously and in paragraph 48 renders the German term *"Auserwaehlte"* in Latin by *omnes Christiani, pii omnes,* etc.

The *third* characteristic is discussed by the Formula of Concord itself in the sections which prove that this doctrine is in full accord with other teachings of the Scriptures. Here the question arises: In what relation does the doctrine of predestination according to this construction stand to the doctrine of the Gospel? The answer is: (1) It is **not identical** with it in every respect; for the Gospel treats of God's will towards all men, the ungodly as well as the believers. (2) It is the **same doctrine** considered in its limited and special application to the true Christian, and considered as the eternal decree of God. In other words: The relation of the two is the same as when I preach the Gospel before believers and unbelievers, and when I pronounce absolution to a penitent sinner in private absolution. In both the same divine truth is presented; but *the mode of presentation differs.* An unmistakable designation of this construction, (taken from Eph. 1, 5 and F. C. XI, 24) might be: **The predestination unto adoption and eternal life.**

### The Second Mode.

In the controversies resulting from the publication of the Formula of Concord the Lutheran theologians were drawn by the opposition to the Reformed from the point of view presented here. Calvin, like Augustine, in his construction of

the doctrine placed himself in his thoughts in the time before the foundation of the world, the *a priori* position. Viewed from there, he explained the fact that only a few are saved by a twofold decree of God: predestination unto eternal *salvation* and also unto eternal *damnation*. The most essential point here is the *final outcome,* the question of final glorification. In direct opposition to **this** construction of the respective Scripture passages, the Lutheran dogmaticians of the seventeenth century taught the predestination unto eternal glorification *intuitu fidei*. They claimed that in **this narrower sense** the Word of God tells us that God took into consideration whether a man dies *in or out of Christ*. He knew this from eternity, and in eternity decreed that he would receive every Christian steadfast to the end without fail into heaven.

The *first* characteristic of this mode of presentation is that the whole matter is viewed from the *a priori* **standpoint** of pre-mundane eternity. The *second* characteristic is that here the doctrine concerns and includes **not** the whole decree of salvation (the eight sections of the F. C.), but merely the final point (the eighth section). A *third* characteristic is that here the "elect" are not all believers, but only those whom the omniscient One knows as **steadfast to the end.** A *fourth* characteristic is that this is the *doctrine of the Gospel* viewed in its application to the end of life and viewed as a decree of God in His omniscience.

It cannot be gainsaid that what the dogmaticians taught in its substance is the pure doctrine of the Bible. To distinguish it from the other mode, the dogmaticians designated it as **predestination unto glorification,** or eternal life.

# TOPICAL INDEX.


A.

**Abelard,** on vicarious atonement, 137.

**Abuses,** 77, 101.

**Adiaphora,** 244, 335, 421f.

**Adiaphoristic controversy,** 391, 389, 421f.

**Absolution** (private absolution), see "Auricular Confession", 212ff, 222, 226, 311ff, 353.

**Adoptianism,** 129.

**Adventists,** 256.

**Agricola,** John, 392.

**Altar Fellowship,** 183f.

**Alloeosis,** 132.

**Altered Augsburg Confession,** see "Variata".

**Albigenses,** 107.

**Amsdorf.** Nic., 168, 392, 410.

**Anabaptists,** on immediacy of grace, 163; inner light, 163; Church, 172ff, 186, 190; Donatist followers, 190; falling from grace, 219; on regular ministry, 232f; property, 249; apokatastasism, 255; cause of sin, 279.

**Andreae,** Jacob, 178, 395, 397, 424.

**Angels,** fall of, 285.

**Antichrist,** 254ff, 260, 309, 318, 351.

**Anhypostasy,** 69, 129f.

**Anselm,** on vicarious atonement, 138.

**Antinomistic controversy,** 392; cf. 18, 412.

**Anthropology,** 101, 109, 261ff, 320, 352, 371, 403ff, 406ff.

**Anti-Trinitarians,** 107f, 109.

**Apostles' Creed,** as symbol, 14, 31; authority of, 16, 17, 24, 25; origin of, 33ff; Grundtvig's view, 33. *Textus Receptus,* 34, 43f; gradual development, 35ff; Trinitarian division displaces the Christological, 37; the first fixed formulas 38ff; *Old Roman Symbol,* 41ff; its text 41f; its origin traced, 42; relation to Eastern Creeds, 42; Roman Symbol changed, 43f; temporarily displaced by Nicene Creed, 44; the form admitted into Luther's *Catechism* 44; phrases of Art. I, p. 44, p. 45, of III, p. 46ff; *Canon* for interpretation, 49; value of, 50; syncretism, 51; Grundtvig, 51f.

**Apollinarianism,** 67, 130.

**Apin,** A., on Descensus, 135.

**Apology.** Authority of, 19, 21, 23, 24, 403. Literature on, 292f. Historical introduction to, 292ff. Drafts of, 295. Final form, 296. Character of, 296ff. Recognized as confessional, 298. Alterations, 298f.

**Apokatastasism,** 255.

**Apostolic succession,** 238, 239.

**Aquinas,** Thomas: on original sin and concupiscense, 116; on justification, 143, 146.

**Arianism,** 54, 61, 109.

**Arminians,** on perfection, 220.

**Athanasian Creed:** as Symbol, 14, 31. Names of, 63. Author of, 63f. Contents, 64ff: on Trinity, 27, 64ff; on Christology, 65ff. Authority of, 29, 72. Character of, 69, 70ff. Attitude of Churches to, 31, 72. Reference to in Augsburg Confession 104, 106, 127.

**Attrition,** 312.

**Augustine:** on Trinity, 61; original sin and concupiscence, 116, 286, 300; justification, 143, 408; chiliasm, 260.

**Augsburg Confession:** as Symbol, 15, 403; as system of theology, 101ff, 254, 262. Literature on, 74f. The "Unaltered", 25. Authority of, 19, 21, 23, 29. Author of, 75, Luther's connection with, 81f. Melanchthon in harmony with Luther, 75, 81f, 85. Luther on, 76, 81, 290. *Sources:* Torgau Articles, 75, 77f; Schwabach Articles, 75, 79f; Marburg Articles, 75, 79. *"First Draft"*, 81. *Final form* for public reading, 82, 83f. Changes and additions, 83ff. The Schornbaum-Kolde discovery, 82. Melanchthon's *Introduction*, 81, 82f; replaced by an introduction of Dr. Brueck, 86. *Delivery*, 86. *Texts:* German, 86ff, 230; Latin, 88; our English, 89; Editio Princeps, 89ff, its reliability, 98. "Altered Augsb'g Conf., 91ff. Art. X on Lord's Supper, 92; on Free Will, 93. Dr. Schaff on Variata, 93ff. Dr. Eck protesting, 95; Flacius, 96. Day at Naumburg, 96. Calvin on Variata, 96. Difference between Variata and Invariata as to subscription, 99f.

**Auricular Confession;** 213ff, 217, 311ff, 353.

B.

**Baptists,** 198.

**Baptismal Formula,** 14, 35.

**Baptism,** 102. Art. on Baptism, 191ff. Catechism on, 378ff. Benefit of, 194, 229, 378, 382. Faith the receiving hand, 379, 229; infant faith, 196f. Meaning of, 380. Relation to regeneration, 117. Includes repentance, 381. A real means of grace, 176, 193, 198f, 353. Difference between Lutherans and Baptists, 179. Infant Baptism, 192, 195f, 311, 353, 379f. Necessary for salvation, 192f. "Nottaufe" (in extreme necessity), 193, 237. Objective and subjective, 194f. Regeneration, 194. Mode of, 197, 243. Anabaptists on, 197. Zwingli on, 198. Use of, 229.

**Bellarmin,** 115.

**Bergen Book,** 400.

**Book of Concord,** 21, 98.

**Brenz,** 277.

**Bucerism,** 178, 209.

C.

**Caesarean Creed,** see "Nicene Creed." 54.

**Call,** see "Ordination" and "Order".

**Call** to Ministry, 102, 233ff; inner call, 233; external, 234f. "Transference Theory", 234f: Missouri Synod on, 234. Co-operation of clergy and laity, 235f. Ordination, 236. Waldenstroem, 237. Luther, 354.

**Calvin on Variata,** 96, 210; on state of humiliation, 135; relation of God to man, 179; Lord's Supper, 179, 200ff, 414f; falling from grace, 219; predestination, 425.

**Campbellites,** on Creeds, 31.

**Capernaitic eating** in Lord's Supper, 206, 414.

**Capital punishment,** 250.

**Carlstadt,** 163.

**"Catholic",** the term in Apostles' Creed, 46; Catechism, 46; Athanasian Creed, 70; Formula of Concord, 71; Melanchthon, 76.

**Catechism:** historical introduction, 355ff. Literature on, 355. Preparatory steps, 355ff. The name "Catechism", 357. Catechisms before Luther, 357.

State of religion, 358. Small Catechism written first, 358ff. Editions, 359. On the power of the keys, 360f. Large Catechism, 362. Small Catechism characterized, 362f. Not sufficient for a Creed, 363; yet of symbolic character, 403, 15. Authority of, 21, 23.

**Cause of sin,** 101, 276ff, 286, 321.

**Celibacy,** 169, 324ff, 354.

**Ceremonies,** 102, 184, 241ff, 330, 317ff, 330, 338, 354.

**Chalcedonian Creed,** 66.

**Chalcedonian Christology,** see "Christology".

**Chemnitz,** 178, 397f, 424f.

**Chiliasm,** 102, 256ff.

**Christ,** see "Son of God".

**Christology:** Chalcedonian, 66f, 127. In Augsb'g Conf. 101, 126ff. In Formula of Concord, 418. *Divinity* of Christ, 128: Christ as ὄγος, 128: virgin birth, 128f; pre-existence, 128; modern theology, 128, Anabaptists on, 128; Incarnation, 129. Personal *union,* 130ff. Diophysitism, 130. Monophysitism, 130f. Luther vs. Zwingli, 131f. The Real Presence, 132f.

**Church:** The term, 46, 172. Definition of, 102, 170ff, 185ff, 308f, 354. Rome, 170ff. Anabaptists, 172. Apology 171ff. Melanchthon, 171f, 309. Luther, 172. The term "rightly", 84, 174ff. Unity of, 182, 309f. Church in narrower and wider sense, 185ff. Visible and invisible, 186, 188, 309. Corpus mixtum, 172, 188, 308f. The foundation, 309. Government of, see "Government".

**Civil affairs,** 102.

**Civil Government,** 102. Cf. "Government".

**Civil office,** 251.

**Communion,** see "Lord's Supper".

**Communism,** 102, 248ff.

**Condemnation,** 255.

**Confutation,** Augsb'g Conf. 293ff.

**Congregationalists,** 198.

**Confessional subscription,** 19ff. Degree of obligation, 15, 22-30. Quia or quatenus, 23ff. Subscription to Invariata, 98; to Creed in general. Among Lutherans in America, 21, 30.

**Confession of sin,** 102, 212ff, 311f, 352.

**Constantinopolitan Symbol,** see "Nicene Creed".

**Concupiscence.** Augsb'g Conf. 113. Definition, 113. Rome, 113, 115, 116. Melanchthon, 113, 300. Luther, 114, 300f. Quenstedt, 114. Krauth, 114. Luthardt, 114. (See "Original Sin") Origin of, 284. Large Catechism, 370. Formula of Concord, 406ff.

**Conversion,** 406ff, 408, 268ff.

**Concurrence,** 281f.

**Conscience,** freedom of, see "Freedom of Conscience."

**Consubstantiation,** 203f, 418.

**Contrition,** 223, 307, 312f, 352, 406.

**Corpus Christi,** 211.

**Corpora Doctrinae,** 20, 97f, 98.

**Court,** going to, 250f.

**Covenanters,** 251.

**Creeds,** meaning of, 14; authority of, 16-30; terminology of, 26ff; substance of, 26ff. Accidentials and essentials, 28, Affirmations and negations in, 29.

**Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy,** 99, 392, 413.

**Crypto-Calvinism,** regarding Variata, 93; as unionistic movement, 99, 178, 207, 390; Lord's Supper, 413ff.

D.

**Damascus,** John, on Trinity, 67.

**Damnatory clauses:** in old Nicene Creed, 55; Athanasian Creed,

**Damnatory clauses** — Concluded. 64f, 70ff; Augsburg Confession, 70, cf. Introduction to Formula of Concord.
**"Delectatio morosa"**, 284.
**Denk**, 109, 163, 197.
**Denominational honesty**, 18, 26.
**Descensus:** in Apostles' Creed, 45; not universally accepted, 31; in Augsburg Confession, 135; in Formula of Concord, 135, 420.
**Devil** as cause of sin, 284.
**Discipline in Church**, 18, 222, 239, 353.
**Docetism**, 133.
**Donatists** on purity of Church, 190. Difference from Novatians, 190. Wickliffe, 190. Anabaptists, 190. Schwenkfeld, 190.
**Dynamistic Monarchians**, 106, 108.

E.

**Easter**, see "Festivals."
**Ebonites**, 108, 129f.
**Ecclesiology**, 102, cf. "Church".
**Eck**, Dr., protesting against Variata, 95. Charging Lutherans, 107, 108, 280.
**Editio Princeps**, 89ff. (cf. "Augsburg Confession"), 95.
**Editio Princeps.** (cf. Augsb'g Conf.), 89ff, 103, 207ff, 210.
**Efficacy of means of grace**, 102, 188f, 90.
**Enthusiasts**, 161, 232ff, 353.
**Episcopal Church:** on Athanasian Creed, 31, 73; on church government, 198; on ordination, 238; on rank among ministers, 239.
**Erasmus**, 277.
**Eschatology**, 254.
**Essence**, divine, 106ff.
**Eternal life**, 255, 352.
**Eucharist**, 212, 331, 332. See "Lord's Supper."
**Enhypostasy**, 69, 129f.
**Eunomians**, 109.
**Eutychianism**, 67f, 70, 130.
**"Evangelical Counsels"**, 147, 196, 335.
**Evil in man**, 281ff, 403ff, 406ff.
**Exaltation**, state of, 135.
**Excommunication** from Church, 18, 222, 239, 353.
**Exordium** (Introduction) of Melanchthon, 81, 82f, 86 (cf. "Augsburg Confession").

F.

**Faith**, 101, receives justification, 155f, 313, 303f; definition of, 303ff, contrasted with works, 286, 303. Faith effected by Gospel, 206; receives benefits of Sacraments, 229, 414; does not make Sacrament, 418. Faith alone justifies, 156, 304. Infant faith, 196f.
**Festivals** of Church, 241, 243, 310.
**Filioque**, 61, 64, 72.
**Flacius**, M., protesting against Variata, 96; versus Osiander on Atonement, 152; on Adiaphora, 244, 389f, 392, 421f; addressing Melanchthon, 389, 394ff. Disputation with Strigel, 404. Sin is man's substance, 404f. Third use of Law, 412f. Flacianists on predestination, 424.
**Formula of Concord**, as a Symbol, 15. Literature on, 384f. *Reception* in Germany, 400f; by Scandinavians, 21; in America 21f. *Confessional obligation*, 22ff; see "Confessional subscription." Chapter on Formula of Concord, 384ff. *History* of the times, 385ff. Smalcald War, 386. The Interims, 386. Augsburg Peace Treaty, 387. Cujus regio, etc., 387. Reservatum ecclesiasticum 388. Melanchthon, 388f. Flacius, 389f. Philippists, 390.

Gnesio-Lutherans, 390. *Doctrinal Controversies:* Adiaphoristic, 391; Osiandristic, 391; Majoristic, 391f; Antinomistic, 392; Synergistic, 392; Flacius, 392; Crypto-Calvinistic, 392. *Vain efforts at unification,* 393; Duke Christopher, 393; "Frankfurt Recess," 393; Naumburg, 394; Flacius, 394; Andreae, 395; Zerbst, 396. *Unification succeeds,* 397; Andreae's six sermons, 397; Chemnitz commissioned, 397; Swabian-Saxon-Concord, 398; "Maulbrun Formula", 398; "Torgau Book", 399; "Bergen Book", 400. Publication, 400f. Division of *contents,* 402. Epitome, 402, 400. On *original sin,* (cf. topic), 403ff. Sin not man's substance, 404 Errors of Flacius, 405. Lutheran doctrine, 405f. *Free will and conversion,* 406ff. Order of salvation, 408. *Justification,* 408ff. Osiander, 409; contents, 410. *Good works,* 410f; contents, 411. *Law and Gospel,* 411; contents, 412, (cf. "Law" and "Gospel"). *Third use,* 412; contents, 413, (cf. "Crypto-Calvinism"); contents, 418, (cf. "Zwingli", "Lord's Supper", "Scriptures"). *Person of Christ,* 418ff, (cf. "Son of God" and "unio personalis"). *Descensus,* 420; contents, 421. *Adiaphora,* 421f, (cf. "Flacius", "Adiaphora", "adiaphoristic controversy"); contents, 422. *Predestination,* 423ff. Modes of, 426ff. Contents, 425f. *Various sects,* 426.

**"Frankfurt Recess",** 393.

**Frank,** Seb., 109.

**Freedom of conscience,** 17, 18, 392.

**Free-will,** 101. Conversion God's work, 162, 261ff; in externals, 263ff, 320; in spiritual things, 268ff, 320. Luther on, 277. Formula of Concord on, 407; before conversion, 407, in, 407, after, 407. Augustine on, 408.

G.

**Gnesio-Lutherans,** 390, 393ff, 403f, 410, 412.

**Gnosticism,** 107, 133, 286.

**God,** doctrine of, 65ff, 101, 103ff, 371f.

**Good works,** (see, "Sanctification").

**Gospel,** object of teaching, 159f, 172, 178; as compared with Law, 160, 174, 226, 352, 411. Meaning of term in Augsburg Confession, 161, 176f 406, 411f. Used in twofold sense, 161, 412. Predestination, 425.

**Government,** civil, 102, 248ff, 319f; of Church, 102, 159, 194, 239, 338, 253.

H.

**Heidelberg Catechism,** 177f, 183.

**Heshusius,** 416.

**Hetzer,** 109, 163, 197.

**Hierarchical system** ,138.

**Holiness movement,** 220. See "Sanctification."

**Holy Ghost,** 36f, 41f, 46, 58f, 64, 103, 105, 109, 110, 121f, 273f.

**Homoousios,** 26ff.

**Hubmeier,** 197.

**Humiliation,** state of, 134.

I.

**Immersion,** 243, see on "Baptism."

**Incarnation,** 67, 69, 70. Initiative in act of, 129.

**Indulgences,** 147.

**Infant faith,** see, "Faith."

**Infant Baptism,** see, "Baptism."

**Interims,** 386, 389, 410.

**Invariata,** 96ff, 207, 210; cf. "Variata".

J.

**Judgment of Christ,** 102, 137, 254ff, 320.

**Justification,** 101, 127. Zoeckler on relation of to Art. III (A. C.) 127. Art. IV. of Augsburg Confession center, 139. Apology, 301ff. Other articles on Justification, 140f, 408ff. In history of Church: post-Apostolic Fathers, 142f; Augustine, 143, 146, 408; Scholastis, 143ff. Justification, the term, 153, 410; relation to conversion and sanctification, 410; as an infusion of grace, 144, 153, 307, 409. Council of Trent, 144. Religious interests of Lutheranism, 145f. A free gift, 147f, 303, 338. Cause of justification, 148f, 155. Acive and passive obedience, 149ff. Osiander, 151, 391, 409. Judicial or forensic conception, 153. Imputation, 153f, 410. Faith the receiving hand, 155; the transforming principle, 156. Distinction between Justification and Sanctification, 141, 156, 176, 301ff, 410. Through faith "alone" 156. Justification as held by Calvinism also, 179.

K.

**Keys,** power of, 159f, 238, 240, 353.

**Krauth,** C. P., on Original Sin, 109ff.

L.

**Law,** as contrasted with Gospel, 160, 174. Different uses of, 392, 302, 303, 306, 352, 406, 411ff. Third use of Law, 412ff. Effects repentance, 225. Civil laws contrasted with divine laws, 251.

**Laymen's work in Church,** 237. Waldenstroem on, 237.

**Legalism,** 143, 176.

**Liturgy,** 241, 331.

**Logos,** 54ff, 129.

**Lord's Supper,** in history, 80, 85, 92, 94, 132f, 179. Art. on 102, 199ff. Confessional literature on, 199. Benefit of, 206, 353. Sacramental gift, 199ff. Smalcald Articles on, 342. Words of institution, 200. Sacramental union, 201ff. Impanation, 202. Spiritual eating, 418. Real Presence, 200f, 203, 311, 415, 418, 420. Consecration does not make Sacrament, but institution does, 418. Received by godly and ungodly, 353, 414, 418. Transubstantiation, 201ff, 207, 353. Consubstantiation, 203ff. Oral manducation, 206, 414. Capernaitic eating, 206. Both kinds, 211, 323f, 353. Use of, 229, 310. Fellowship at, 183. Administration of, 237f. Wittenberg Concord on, 392, 413ff. Calvin's teaching, 414f.

**Lutheran Church,** Compared with Reformed as to recognition of Creeds, 15, 25; as to faith, 229; as to Puritanism, 241.

**Lutheranism** as a system, 25; as claiming orthodoxy, 175ff, 180f. (cf. "Church" and all topics.)

**Luther,** on freedom of conscience, 17ff; on Athanasian Creed, 72; on homoousios, 26f. Relation to authorship of Augsb'g Conf., 80ff. On original sin, 114, 117; free will, 277; Christology, 131f, 136; justification, 139f; predestination, 423f; Church, 172, 187; conservatism, 242; private confession, 215f; saint worship, 290; means of grace, 161; efficacy of Sacraments, 198; number of Sacraments, 230. Good works, (sanctifica-

tion), 167, 169. Baptism, 193ff. Lord's Supper, 200ff. Falling from grace, 219. Perfection, 220. Sunday, 246. Chiliasm, 260. Meeting the Zwinglians, 209. Antichrist, 255, 290.

M.

**Major,** George, 168, 392, 410.
**Majoristic controversy,** 391f, 410.
**Man,** see, "Anthropology."
**Manichaeism,** 107, 11, 286, 320, 407.
**Marburg Articles,** 75, 79.
**Marriage,** 102, 249, 253, 316, 324, 354, 369ff.
**Mary,** worship of, 292, 323.
**Mass,** 138, 211f, 327ff, 331ff.
**"Maulbrun Formula,"** 398.
**Matrimony,** see, "Marriage."
**Means of grace,** 101, 160. Schwabach Articles on, 161; Smalcald Articles on, 161, Efficacy of, 188ff. "Hearing" necessary, 161f. Anabaptists, Quakers, Zwingli on, 163. Apology on, 164. Gospel as contrasted with Law, 160, 174, 225f. See, "Scriptures", "Baptism", and "Lord's Supper."
**Melanchthon,** as author of Augsburg Confession, 75. Opposing Zwingli 85, 208. Variata, 91ff. Deviating from Luther? 75, 81, 91ff, 207, 413. His conciliatory interests, 91ff, 158, 207f, 230, 254, 413. *Did he change?* Lord's Supper, 208, 210, 413; synergism, 270ff, 274, 406ff. His connections with Smalcald Articles, 342; with Formula of Concord, 388f. Conflict with Flacius, 96, 244, 389f, 392, 394ff, 401f. (On special doctrines, see the different topics of this Index.)
**Mennonites,** 198, 251.
**Meritum** de congruo and meritum de condigno, 145, 302, 305, 307.
**Methodists,** 220.
**Military service,** 250f.
**Ministry,** call to, 102, 317. Office of, 158. Discussion of in Art. XIV of Augustana; incidentally in Art. V., 158. Apology, 317. Rome on, 158. Lutherans on, 158ff. A ministry, not a priesthood, 159. Church government, 159.
**Moehler,** on Lutheran conception of justification, 147, 155.
**Modalistic Monarchians,** 108.
**Mohammedans,** 108.
**Monarchianism,** 105f, 109.
**Monasticism,** 169, 335f. Monastic vows, 334, 354.
**Monophysitism,** 67f, 70, 130, 133.
**Mortal sins,** 214. Cf. "Venial Sins".

N.

**Nature,** *Christ's,* 67f. Adopted by Logos, 129, 419. *Man's nature,* 280ff, 405; corruption of, 405; glorified in Christ, 419.
**Naumburg, Day of Princes** at, 96, 394f.
**Nazarites,** 337.
**Nestorianism,** 67f, 70, 129, 131.
**Neustadt Admonition,** 178.
**"New Obedience"** (See, "Justification" and "Sanctification").
**Novatians,** 219, 221.
**Nicene Creed,** as a Symbol, 14. 31. Authority of, 16, 29, 62. Accepted form of, 27; compared with original form, 53. The old form; Eastern Creeds as sources, 53f; characterised, 54. Relation of old form to Creed of Caesarea, 54. Damnatory clauses in old Nicene Creed, 55. Old Nicene Creed characterized, 55f. Reasons for changing the old form, 57. "Constantinopolitan Symbol," 57. Dissertation of Hort, 57. Differences from old form, 57f.

**Nicene Creed** — Concluded.
How the new form came into use, 59. First traces of text, 60. Similiarity with Creed of Jerusalem, 60. Explanation of the name, "Constantinopolitan," 60. The filioque, 61. Reference to Nicene Creed in Augsb'g Conf., 104, 106.

O.

**Oath,** 250.
**Occam,** William, on Real Presence, 203f.
**Oecumenical Creeds,** 15, 20, 31, 101, 104, 403.
**Offense,** 243, 244, 246.
**Opus operatum,** 206, 230, 312, 317, 327ff, 331, 333.
**Oral manducation,** 205f.
**Ordination,** for administering Sacraments, 194; estimation of, 236 (see "Call."); validity of, 238, 240, 317, 354.
**Order,** (in Church), 232, 236f, 238, 241ff. Cf. "Call to Ministry", "Ordination", "Luther".
**Order of salvation;** Formula of Concord and Lutheran dogmaticians, 408. Luther and Melanchthon, 409. Osiander, 409.
**Origen,** on private confession, 217; apokatastasism, 256.
**Original righteousness,** (see "original sin", and "Concupiscence").
**Original sin,** 101; Augsb'g Conf., 110ff, Apology, 300. *Traced* to fall 111; not to creation 111. Christ excepted, 111; Mary included, 112. *Definition of,* 112f, 300ff; by Rome, 113; by Melanchthon, 113; by Luther, 114; by Quenstedt, 114; by Krauth, 114; by Luthardt, 114. *Character* of original sin: by Scholastics, 115; a mere weakness, 115, 300; sin only when developing into sinful deed, 116; sinful character removed in Baptism, 117. Confutation on, 116. Symbolized in Roman Catechism, 116. *Critical review* of Rome's position, 116ff, Augustine's misconception, 116. *Lutheran view,* 117: affects whole man, 117; is real sin, 117; can be learned only from revelation, 352, 405; Baptism removes guilt only, 117; Apology, Smalcald Articles, Augustana, Baier, 117f. *Consequences:* death, 119. Immediate and mediate imputation, 119. Remedy: regeneration, 120. Through Baptism, and Spirit, 121ff. Errorists: Pelagius, 123f; Semi-Pelagians, 124. Roman Church on, 138. Flacius on, 404. Sin not man's substance, 404.
**Osiander,** confounding justification with sanctification, 141; versus Stancar, 151.
**Osianderistic controversy,** 391.

P.

**Particular Confessions** contrasted with Oecumenical, 14, 15, 31. Authority of, 18.
**Pelagianism,** 110f, 120, 123, 124, 274ff, 302, 320, 407.
**Persons in Trinity,** 104ff.
**Person of Christ,** 67f; the acting subject, 69. Logos adopted no human person, 129. Personal union, 61, 68, 130, 131, 134, 419. See, "Son of God."
**Personal union,** see "Unio personalis," and "Person of Christ," and "Son of God."
**Perfectionists,** 219f, 336.
**Philippists,** 390, 392, 406, 410, 422.
**Philip of Hessia,** attitude to Augsb'g Conf., 85, 343.
**Post-existaence** of Christ, 66, 128, 418ff.
**Pre-existence** of Christ, 66, 128f.

**Predestination,** 162, 408, 424f, 426ff.
**Presbyterians,** 198, 242. Covenanters, 251.
**Presbyters,** 239.
**Private Confession,** 212ff.
**Providence** as distinguished from predestination, 424f.
**Property,** 248ff, 311, 319, 369ff.
**Pulpit fellowship,** 184.
**Puritanism,** 242.
**Purgatory,** 254, 290, 312, 323.

Q.

**Quakers,** on immediacy of grace, 163; perfection, 220; regular ministry, 232; war, 251; capital punishment, 251.
**Quia or quatenus** subsription, 23ff. Cf. "Confessional subscription".

R.

**Real Presence,** see, "Lord's Supper."
**Rechabites,** 337.
**Redress,** public, 250f.
**Regeneration,** 110, 120ff, 303.
**Repentance,** 102, 223f, 312f, 381; as penance, 222; the term in narrower and wider sense, 224f, 406f, 412; effected by Law, 225; by Gospel, 411.
**Restoration of wicked,** 102.
**Resurrection of the flesh:** in Apostles' Creed, 47; in Large Catechism, 48; in Augsb'g Conf., 255. Anglican Church, 48. The Formula of Concord, 49.
**Reward** in religion, 308.
**Right hand** of Father, Christ's sitting, 136, 418. Relation to Real Presence, 205.
**Righteousness,** original, 115, 284.
**Rites,** 184, 241ff, 310, 317ff.
**Roman Church:** on original sin, 112; justification, 141ff. A system of doubt, 147, 307, 308, 318. On Church, 170ff, 188; original sin, 115ff, 300ff; number of Sacraments, 230, 316; efficacy of, 190; benefit of, 230; mortal and venial sins, 214, 303; confession of sins, 214, 311; perfection, 220, 253; bishops, 239; papacy, 351; property, 252; marriage, 253; celibacy, 324ff, essence of sin, 286; saints, 289; faith, 303, 313; traditions, rites, etc., 184, 241, 310, 338; Lord's Supper, (Mass), 310, 311, 327, 331ff, 351; repentance, 312, 314f; monastic vows, 334ff, 351; Real Presence, 200, 203, 311; rite vocatus, 233, see "Ordination." Difference from Lutheranism fundamental, 350f.
**Rule of Faith,** 14, 16, 35, 56.

S.

**Sabellianism,** 66, 69, 108, 109.
**Sabbath,** see, "Sunday."
**Sacraments,** as means of grace, 158ff; their administration as test of a true church, 173ff; to be administered by men who are regularly called, 232. Their efficacy, 109ff. Sacrament and sacrifice, 213, 328ff. Definition 228ff. 316, 330. Use of, 227ff, 317. Number of, 230, 316. As ceremonies, 242, 330.
**Sacrifice vs. Sacrament,** 328ff. Definition, 331.
**Saints,** worship of, 289ff, 321ff.
**Samosatenes,** 16, 105, 108f.
**Sanctification,** (see "Justification;" also, "New Obedience"), 101, 165, 410. Articles treating of, 166, 287, 321, 410. Impulse for, 167f, 354. Not to be confused with justification, 168, 307, 410. Good works, kind of works demanded, 169. Threefold use of Law, 412f. "Evangelical counsels" rejected, 169, 335.

**Satisfaction,** 312, 314, 352.
**Schwabach Articles,** 75, 79f.
**Schubert,** von, Prof., on Schwabach and Marburg Articles, 79f.
**Schwenkfeld,** 141, 163, 190, 219.
**Scotus,** Duns, on original sin and concupiscence, 116; as Semi-Pelagian, 124; on Real Presence, 203.
**Scriptures,** the Holy, 100, 158ff, 173ff, 189ff, 232, 330, 353, 411f; on Lord's Supper.
**Semi-Pelagianism,** 277.
**Servetus,** M., 109.
**Smalcald Articles:** as Symbol, 15, 23, 403; authority of, 19, 21, 24; introduction to, 339ff; literature, 339. Occasion for new articles, 339f. Luther commissioned, 340. Articles signed, 340. Melanchthon's postscript, 341. Negotiations at Smalcald, 341ff. Melanchthon instructed to draw up articles (Appendix), 344. Contents, 344f. History of Luther's articles, 346. Their publication, 349. Luther's preface, 350. Passage on Lord's Supper, 342.
**Socinus,** L. and F., 108.
**Socinianism,** 108, 129, 137, 276.
**Son of God,** 101, 126ff, 372ff, 392, 418ff.
**Soteriology,** 101.
**Spener,** on Church fellowship, 183; efficacy of means of grace, 190.
**Spirit,** Holy, see "Holy Spirit."
**Stancar** versus Osiander, 151.
**Strigel,** Victorin, 96, 392, 403.
**Subordination,** 65, 106, 109.
**Subscription,** confessional, see "Confessional Subscription."
**Sunday,** 243, 245ff, 366ff.
**Superabundant works,** 147.
**Superadded gifts,** 115.
**Swabian-Saxon Concord,** 398f.
**"Symbols,"** as compared with, "Confessions," 15. Authority of, 16. Cf. "Confessional subscription".
**Synergistic Controversy,** 392.
**Synergism of Melanchthon,** 168, 274, 276, 406.
**Synods,** 239.

## T.

**Tertullian,** on Apostles' Creed, 39.
**Texts** of Augsburg Confession, 86ff.
**Theology** (doctrine of God), 101.
**Theophylact,** 202.
**Torgau Articles,** 75, 77f.
**Torgau Book,** 399.
**Traditions,** rites and ceremonies, 102, 184, 241ff, 310, 317ff, 338, 354.
**Transubstantiation,** 201ff, 207.
**Trinity,** Nicene Creed, 54ff. Athanasian Creed, 27, 64ff, 69. Augsb'g Conf. 101, 104ff. Oeconomic and immanent Trinity, 65.
**Tripersonality,** 65.
**Tritheism,** 69.
**Tschackert,** P., work on texts of Augsb'g Conf., 90.

## U.

**Unaltered Augsburg Confession,** see "Invariata". Cf. "Variata".
**Unity of Christ's person,** see "unio personalis."
**Unio personalis,** 68, 130, 419.
**Unio hypostatica,** see "unio personalis."
**Unitio personalis,** see "unio personalis."
**Unitarians,** 109, 255ff.
**Universalists,** 255ff.
**Union,** Prussion Union, 183. German Ev. Synod, 183. Absorptive, 183. Confederative, 183. At altar, 183. Spener on altar fellowship, 183.

**Ursinus,** Z., Heidelberg Catechism, 177f.
**Usury,** 252.

V.

**Valentinians,** 107.
**Variata,** 91ff, 96, 98, 201, 207ff, 210; on property, 243; on marriage, 253; on chiliasm, 260; on Free will, 274.
**Venial sins,** 214. Cf. "Mortal sins".
**Vicarious Atonement,** 137f.
**Virgin Birth,** in Apostles' Creed, 45, Augsb'g Conf., 129f.
**Vows** of chastity, 336f.

W.

**War,** 250.
**Weimar Book** of Confutations, 403.
**Westphal,** Jachim, 415f, Westphal controversy.
**Wickliffe,** donatistic conception of Church, 190.
**Wittenberg Concord,** 92, 95, 201, 342.
**Worms,** Colloquy at, 95.
**Word,** see, "Scripture."

Z.

**Zangemeister:** Luther's autograph edition of Smalcald Articles, 341f.
**Zerbst,** 396.
**Zwickau prophets,** 163.
**Zwingli,** opposed by Melanchthon, 85; on original sin, 125; person and natures of Christ, 127, 131ff; as Nestorian, 132; on immediacy of grace, 163; on Church, 186; on Baptism, 198; on use of Sacraments, 227f; on puritanism, 242; on Lord's Supper, according to Formula of Concord, 418.

# Lutheran Seminary Text Book Series.

## INTRODUCTION TO LUTHERAN SYMBOLICS.

**By Prof. J. L. NEVE, D. D., Springfield, Ohio.**

This book offers an historical introduction to the Oecumenical and Particular Creeds of Lutheranism, a Synopsis of their contents, and an interpretation of their theology on the basis of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession. Prof. Geo. J. Fritschel, D. D., has furnished the Synopsis of the Apology, Smalcald Articles and Large Catechism, and has also contributed the chapter on the Formula of Concord. The Section containing the interpretation of the Doctrinal Articles of the Augustana, which covers pages 100-292, will be welcomed as a further expansion of the subjects treated in the author's little book "The Augsburg Confession".

**Cloth, gilt markings, 450 pages, price--- $1.75**

---

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

**By Prof. J. L. NEVE, D. D., Springfield, Ohio.**

This is a work which was first published in 1903 as a little volume of 200 pages, and was introduced as a textbook in almost all Lutheran Seminaries of this country. In this second edition all historical matter has been brought up to date, and with the co-operation of representatives of the different Lutheran bodies the endeavor has been made to produce an objective history of Lutheranism in America. Special features of this edition are (1) a detailed history of the developments leading up to the break in Fort Wayne, (2) a reliable history of the Scandinavian bodies, prepared under the supervision of their own men.

To be had both in the German and the English language.

**Cloth, gilt markings, 469 pages, price--- $1.75**

## LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

## OUTLINES OF BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

**By Prof. GEO. H. SCHODDE, Ph. D., Capital University.**

This treatise aims to discuss chiefly the teachings of the Bible itself as to its character, purpose and interpretation. Its chief contents are 1) The Bible as the object of Interpretation; 2) General Hermeneutics; 3) Special Hermeneutics.

**Cloth, gilt markings, 200 pages---------- $1.50**

---

## BIBLICAL DOGMATICS.

**By Prof. ANDREW G. VOIGT, D. D., LL. D., Columbia, South Carolina.**

Concerning this book the publisher writes: We are enthusiastic about this book of Dr. Voigt's, whose treatment is both clear and scholarly. While it is more technical than popular, technical theological terms have been avoided or explained, and the book can really if not readily be understood by the common people." The author is known as a successful teacher in the Lutheran Church, and having been an untiring reader of German as well as English literature, his work represents, in brief form, the results of matured thinking in the field of Dogmatics.

**Cloth, 250 pages. Price---------- $1.00**

**LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN.**
**COLUMBUS, OHIO.**

## APOLOGETICS OR A SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE.

**By Prof. C. E. LINDBERG, D. D., LL. D., Rock Island, Ill.**

This is the work of an able Lutheran theologian who offers us a text-book that has grown out of his experience in the class room. It touches upon the main apologetical topics, to be further developed by the teacher. Some parts have a fuller treatment for the purpose of satisfying the inquiring layman who has been kept in mind by the author. The book begins with a brief history of Apologetics. Then the usual theological and Biblical (including the anthropological, soteriological and Christological) questions are introduced, to be followed by the evidence of Christian experience and the eschatological questions.

**Cloth, 250 pages. Price---------- $2.00**

---

## IN PREPARATION.

Among the Lutheran Seminary Text-Books which are in preparation and which will likely leave the press in 1917 is a work on Catechetics and one on Homiletics by Dr. M. Reu whose splendid scholarship and eminent success as instructor in these branches fits him especially for the task assigned him.

Also "Introduction to the New Testament" by Prof. A. G. Tressler, Ph. D., D. D., Wittenberg Seminary, Springfield, Ohio.

**LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN.**
**COLUMBUS, OHIO.**

BX 8070 N51 copy 2
Neve, Juergen Ludwig, 1863-
1943.
Introduction to Lutheran
symbolics

DEMCO

ST. OLAF COLLEGE
3 0111 00411 8666